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## THE MOUTH OF THE RIVERS

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According to Babylonian mythology, the flood-hero, Utnapištim, was given eternal life by the gods after the deluge, and translated to the *pî nârâti*, or 'mouth of the rivers.' This was certainly the standard theory; it is possible that the Sumerians had a rival view, that the hero lived after the flood in the far south, on the island of Tilmun, in the Persian Gulf (see below). Berossus' statement that τὸν Ἐλισουθρον . . . πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν οἰκήσονται merely implies that Atrahasis was removed from mortal ken, and does not fix the place of his converse with the immortals, which might just as easily have been Elysium as heaven.

It is at present quite generally supposed that the *pî nârâti* was originally the delta of the Two Rivers, which in early times emptied into the gulf through separate mouths, and that when the Babylonians became better acquainted with the interior of the marshes they removed their Elysium to some distant region toward the setting sun. Jensen and Haupt have identified the *pî nârâti* with the fertile plain of Andalusia, the former regarding the Guadiana and the Guadalquivir as the streams in question,<sup>1</sup> the latter fixing on the

<sup>1</sup> See KB, VI, 1, 507, 576; *Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 37, note.

Guadalete and the Rio Santi Petri, which reach the sea at Cadiz.<sup>1</sup> The hypothesis is beautiful, and unquestionably excellent as an explanation based on the assumption of a historical nucleus. Even if the assumption should prove erroneous, we must ask ourselves whether the Assyrians who edited the Ninevite recension took this view of the geographical situation or not. Only at this point is one justified in raising the objection that the Assyrians could hardly have been acquainted with so remote a region as Spain. Granted a traveler's tale as the starting-point of the narrative, the mythical and legendary embellishments are no greater than in analogous episodes in the *Odyssey* or the *Voyages of Sindbad*. However, the geographical background is apparently quite different, as will be shown at the end of the paper, so that there is no need of extending the horizon of Babylonian discovery as far as the Pillars of Heracles.

The *pî nârâti* cannot, of course, be placed at the mouth of the Euphrates, since this would leave no room for the long overland journey of Gilgames, who traversed deserts, mountains, and seas, including the dreaded *mare tenebrosum* of the Babylonians, the *mê mûti*. The same reason excludes recent combinations with Baḥrein or with Persia;<sup>2</sup> the other suggestions which have been made are not to be taken seriously. No Babylonian could have placed his terrestrial paradise in the malaria-breeding swamps of the delta, where the temperature often rises to 50° C. in the shade. There is naturally no parallel between a garden of the blest in the *mât tâmti*<sup>m</sup> (Sea-land) and the Egyptian *šḥt ḳ̣rw* (field of rushes), perhaps a heavenly reflection of the delta, cooled during the summer by the Etesian winds from the Aegean (see, however, below for the true source of the *refrigerium*). While the "land of the marsh-dwellers" may not have been very well known to the predynastic Egyptians, the shores of the Persian Gulf were dotted with settlements in Sumerian times. Weird legends may have arisen of enchanted spots in the marshes, but hardly the myth of a lovely oasis, or of an upland garden, with healing and rejuvenating springs.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Haupt thinks that Elysium, which unquestionably bears some relation to the conception of the *pî nârâti* (see below), may originally have been a corruption of Erytheia, the Greek name of the Isla de Leon, on which Cadiz is situated. Later Elysium was localized in the Canaries or Azores. See provisionally *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, XXXV, 708-9.

<sup>2</sup> Langdon, *Sum. Epic of Paradise*, pp. 8-16, esp. p. 16.

For the solution of our problem we must turn to the incantatory literature. The passages directly mentioning the *pî nârâti* are *CT*,<sup>1</sup> XVI, 46, 183 ff., *CT*, XVII, 26, 64 ff., and *CT*, XVII, 38, 30 ff. *CT*, XVII, 26, 64 ff. has (the transliteration follows *SGL* in the main) [<sup>giš</sup>]*ba-an-du-du á-lál-e* <sup>giš</sup>*gamma šú-u-me-ti id-ka-min(!)-na-ta a šú-ba* (var. *bi*)-*e-ri* (var. *ri-e*)-*ti*=*pattû alallû kippati liqû-ma, ina pî nârâti kilallê mê liqû-ma*, 'Take a *pattû*-vessel,<sup>2</sup> an *alallû*-vessel,<sup>3</sup> a ladle,<sup>4</sup> and get water from the mouth of the two rivers.' We read similarly in the next passage: [<sup>dû</sup>]*saġur-ra níg udun-gal-ta du-a šú-u-me-[ti] id-ka-min-na-ta a šú[ ] a ù-me-ni[ ]=ša (!) karpatu šaġarratu ša ultu utûni rabîtu [illiku] liqû, ina pî nâ[râti ki]lallê mê sâmma* (שנב), 'Take a *saġur*<sup>5</sup>-vessel coming from a large oven, and draw water from the mouth of the two rivers.' More remunerative is *CT*, XVI, 46, 183 ff., one of the most puzzling as well as interesting texts in cuneiform literature. The Semitic translation may safely be omitted, as it is in places very free.

183. *Ēn: Uruduga giš-kin-gê-e ki-el-ta mú-a*  
*múš-me-bi* <sup>nâza</sup>*gîn-a abzu-ta (ni)-lá-a* (var. *e*)  
<sup>a</sup>*Enki-gê (ki)-du-du-a-ta Uruduga ġé-gál sig-ga-ám*  
*ki-dur-a-na ki-ġilib*<sup>6</sup>*-ám*

<sup>1</sup> Note, in addition to the abbreviations given in *AJSL*, XXXIV, 81, n. 1, the following: *ARW*=*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*; *ASKT*=Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*; *BKR*=Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion*; *CT*=*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*; *DEP*=*Délégation en Perse*; *GE*=*Gilgames-epic*; *GGAO*=Hommel, *Geschichte und Geographie des alten Orients*; *HCS*=Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*; *KAT*=*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*; *KB*=*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; *NE*=Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; *SBP*=Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*; *VB*=*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*; *ZATW*=*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> Assy. *pattû* (loan from *bandu(du)*) is the synonym of *naġbû*, 'amphora,' and *madlû*, 'pail' (*SGL*, p. 67). As it is given as the equivalent of *bunin*, 'basin' (Br. 10305), it may mean 'bowl.'

<sup>3</sup> *Alallû* means lit. 'something hanging at the side,' a flasket or bucket (in the plural = *dulâtî*, 'pails'; *SGL*, p. 166).

<sup>4</sup> *Kippatu* is the Aramaic כִּפָּתוּ, 'bowl, spoon'; cf. also *kappu* and *kuppu*, primarily 'basin of a fountain.' This *kippatu* is distinct from *kippatu*, 'vault, arch, horizon' (>כִּפָּתוּ). *HCS*, p. 59, n. 9, renders in our passage 'handle'; 'Prends le seau lustral (par) la anse et puise de l'eau, etc.'

<sup>5</sup> The *saġur* is an amphora; I shall discuss the word elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> *IGI-KÛR*; for the reading *ġilib* see *SGL*, pp. 213 f. Langdon (*PSBA*, XXXVIII, 56, n. 20) would read *ġinar*, in the light of Poebel (*Hist. Texts*, No. 23, rev. 3, *ká-gal IGI-KÛR-ZA IGI-KÛR-RA*), which may simply be read *ká-gal ganzer* ('gate of extinction'; *kan*=*bábu*, and *zer*=*pasásu* and *niġilçû*, *SGL*, p. 225) *igi-kúr-ra*, which one may render freely 'gate of the subterranean inferno' (*ganzer*=*efûtum*, 'darkness,' in the *Chicago Syl.*, I. 212). The etymology of *ġilib* is unknown; one thinks of *ġilim*, 'destroy.'

191. *ki-ná-a itim* <sup>d</sup>*Engur-ám*  
*ê-kug* (AJSL, XXXIII, 187)-*ga-a-ni-ta* <sup>vištir</sup> *gissu<sup>1</sup>-lá-e šà-bi lù nu-mu-*  
*un-da-tu-tu-dè*  
*šà* <sup>d</sup>*Babbar* <sup>d</sup>*Ama-ušumgal-an-na-gè*  
*ri-ba-an-na id-ka-mìn-a-ta*
199. <sup>d</sup>*Ka-gè-gál* <sup>d</sup>*Igi-gè(!)-gál* <sup>d</sup>[*gud-sig-sig* *Uruduga-gè*?]<sup>2</sup>  
*giš-kin-bi šú-im-ma-an-pag ugu-[lù . . . nam-šub abzu-a im-ma-an-*  
*sum]*  
*sag lù-gàl-lu pap-gal-la-gè ba-ni-in-gar-[ra]=*
183. Incantation: In Eridu in a pure place the dark *kiškanû* grows;  
 Its aspect is like lapis lazuli branching out from the *apsû*.  
 In the place where Ea holds sway, in Eridu full of abundance<sup>3</sup>—  
 His abode being in the Underworld,
191. (His) chamber a recess<sup>4</sup> of the goddess Engur—  
 In his pure house is a grove, shadow-extending, into whose midst no  
 man has entered;  
 There are Šamaš and Tammuz.  
 Between the mouths of the two rivers
199. Are the gods Kahegal and Igihegal, the [genii of Eridu.]  
 That *kiškanû* one has gathered;<sup>5</sup> over the man the incantation of the  
*apsû* he has recited;  
 Upon the head of the man possessed he shall place (it).

GIŠ-GÊ; for reading see SGL, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> The restoration is very doubtful; cf. GGAO, p. 276, n. 1. In CT, XXIV, 17, 60 ff., and 29, 107 ff., we have the eight names of the *lù ni-dù*, 'porters' of Enki: *Ka-gè-gál*, 'mouth of fertility'; *Igi-gè-gál* (which must naturally be read in our text instead of *Igi-tur-gál*), 'eye of fertility'; *Ka-na-ab-ul*, 'he in whose mouth is the abode of joy'; *Igi-na-ab-ul*; *Ka-ba-li-nam-ti-la*, 'he in whose mouth is the fat (i.e., luxuriance) of life'; *Ka-ba-li-silim-ma*, 'he in whose mouth is the fat of prosperity'; *Igi-bi-šù-nam-ti-la*, 'he in whose presence there is life'; *Igi-bi-šù-silim-ma*. The use of *ba* instead of *na* in the fifth and sixth names is evidently to avoid cacophony. The names of the two *gud-sig-sig*, 'heroes' (lit. 'bulls'; *gud* shows the same development, 'bull,' and 'hero,' as Eg. *k'*) which make green' (generally read *gud-dub*, 'apotropaic bulls'; cf., however, Frank, *Religion*, p. 275, n. 95), of Enki are given CT, XXIV, 17, 56-57, as <sup>d</sup>*Dúg-ga* and <sup>d</sup>*Sig-sig* = (*DUB*!)-*gá*. There probably is, as often suggested, a general relationship between the *gud-sig-sig* and the cherubim; among the six genii (*gud-sig-sig*) of the temple *Ê-kúr-ra* are the *šêdu* and the serpent-god (<sup>d</sup>*Sagan*), the gracious *šêdu*, *lamassu*, and *utukku*, so the genus was inclusive enough, at least, to cover the conception of the cherubim.

<sup>3</sup> The Semitic has *ša Ea tallaktašu ina Eridu hegalli maláti*, which is, of course, erroneous, as we do not have *ki-du-du-a-ni Uruduga-ta*; moreover, *ám* indicates a subordinate construction. *Ki-du-du* means literally 'the place of going about, the scope of control'; cf. *D U + D U = lāq*, 'guide, control.'

<sup>4</sup> Assy. *qīṣṣu*, which means 'cell, room,' or the like, from *qaṣḏṣu*, 'cut,' Ar. قَصَص; cf. *qaṣṣ*, 'chest (of body)'?

<sup>5</sup> For the meaning of *šú-pag*, which follows from the context, cf. *pag = esêru*, 'inclose, cage' (Br. 2052), and *ir-pag*, 'form a plan' (*kapādu*, which also originally meant 'bind, tie,' Syr. *kappil*; see Haupt, *JAOs*, XXXII, 5 f.). Assy. *šabāšū* means also primarily 'bind,' whence 'impose tax.'

A study of the situation shows clearly that the *kiš-kanû* was imagined to grow in the subterranean fresh-water ocean whence the rivers flow, the home of Enki<sup>1</sup> or Ea,<sup>2</sup> son of Engur.<sup>3</sup> Eridu, the name of Ea's chief cult-city, is employed as a name of the *apsû*, just as Kutû (Kutha), the city of Nergal, is a common name of Aralû (Hades), over which Nergal ruled. A great many passages could be cited in support of this fact, which has not been sufficiently recognized; a few will do. In *BA*, V, 589 (No. XIV, pp. 648-49) we have an incantation directed to the fire-god Gibil (the Sumerian is almost entirely lost): "*Gibil . . . qarrad tizqaru*", ša "*Ea melammê izzûti uzâ'inuš, ina apsî elli<sup>m</sup> irbû, ina âl Eridu ašar šimâti kênîš kunnû, nûršu ellu<sup>m</sup> šamû endu; lišân nûrišu kîma birqi ittana briq*", "*Gibil nûršu kîma ûmu ittana paḥ*" = 'Gibil . . . the exalted hero whom Ea (Sum. *Enki-ga-gè*, 'of Ea') adorned with terrible brilliance, who grew up in the pure *apsû*, who in Eridu, the place of (determining) fates, is unfailingly prepared, whose pure light reaches heaven—his bright tongue flashes like lightning; Gibil's light flares up like the day.' Similarly Gibil is called (*ASKT*, p. 78, rev. 8) *ur-sag dumu abzu-a*, 'hero, child of the *apsû*!' *Gibil mâr Apsî* represents fire as emanating originally from burning naphtha wells, which the Persians regarded as the divine source of fire, where possible erecting their pyraea (Pers. *atargaš*) over them. It is perfectly evident that Eridu here is the underworld, not the city. An equally convincing passage is Gudea, Cyl. B, III, 5-12: *itu-bi ud-eš-âm im-ta-zal. Nin-gîr-su Erida-ta gin-âm zal-ti-sa-sa im-é. kalam-ma ud mu-gâl, ê-ninnu Enzu-ù-tud-da sag-im-ma-da-ab-di* = 'The third day of the month shown. Ningirsu, coming from Eridu, rose in overwhelming splendor (*sa* = *mašâdu*, *muššudu*, *labânu*). In the land it became day; the Eninnu rivaled in brilliance the child of Enzu.' Ningirsu is here the sun,

<sup>1</sup> The name Enki means 'Lord of the underworld' (*KAT<sup>3</sup>*, p. 359). Professor Jastrow may be right in maintaining that its primary meaning was 'Lord of the earth.' Our evidence hardly admits of a decision.

<sup>2</sup> Ea means 'house of water,' the personified *apsû*. In view of Damascius' Aes, the name should probably be pronounced *Ae*, with transposition, as in *abzu* and *Gibil*, etc.; cf. Sayce, *PSBA*, XXXIX, 211 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Engur* is hard to separate from *gur*, 'flood,' synonym of *uru* (*TEgunu*); one is tempted to explain it as *Ê-gur*, 'house of the inundation.' Similarly (see below), the Egyptian name of the watery abyss is *nwnw* (*Nân*), properly 'inundation.' Both countries being alluvial, water was considered the primordial element, from which the earth arose; Engur is the 'mother of heaven and earth.'

offspring of the moon, *Šamaš mār Sin*, who ascends each morning from the underworld.<sup>1</sup> In the incantatory texts Eridu interchanges constantly with the *apsû*. Thus, *Maqlû*, VII, 115 f., we read *amsî qâtê'a ubbiba zumrî ina mê naqbi ellûti<sup>m</sup> ša ina âl Eridi ibbanû* = 'I have washed my hands and cleansed my body in the pure source waters which were created in Eridu.' In *CT*, XVII, 5, col. 3, 1, etc., we have *lù-gâl-lu-bi a-gùb-ba abzu-kug-ga u-me-ni-el* = 'that man with lustral water from the holy *apsû* cleanse.' Of the seven evil spirits it is said (*CT*, XVII, 13, 14-15), *naqbu(BAD)-abzu-[ta] imin-na-meš Uruduga imin-na-meš* = 'In the source of the *apsû* seven are they; in Eridu seven are they.' *CT*, XVI, 32, 154 = 33, 192 = 46, 176, etc., associates the incantation of the *apsû* with that of Eridu (*tû-tû abzu Uruduga*). In the same strain Marduk (*Asari-lù-dûg*) is called indifferently *mâru rêštû ša apsî* and *mâru rêštû ša Eridu*. So again *Šurpu* II, 149-51 offers *Ea liptur šar apsî, apsû liptur bît nîmêqi, Eridu liptur, bît apsî liptur*, setting Eridu in unmistakable parallelism with *apsû* and the *bît apsî*, the abode of Ea. Evidently the theories enunciated from time to time, that Eridu was the home of Babylonian science (magic) and religion, and the speculations of a more dangerous character combining Eridu with Eden, and discovering a mysterious sacred garden there, are as unfounded as it would be to regard Kutha as a sort of Babylonian Tophet or Gehenna. With this collapse fall away incidentally Hommel's views concerning the fabulous antiquity of the city, which he even made the prototype of Memphis, whose name happens to have the same meaning.

Such being the case, we must, in the light of the *kiškanû* incantation, look for the mouth of the rivers in the underworld, the source of terrestrial fresh water. Here, according to an ancient idea, there was a mighty river, whence all streams spring, the *nâru bânât kalâmu*, 'river, creatress of everything,'<sup>2</sup> corresponding to the Sumerian goddess Engur, *ama û-tud an-ki*, 'mother who bore heaven and earth.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to assume syncretism here; Ningirsu, like Ninurta, seems to have been primarily a god of fertility with intimate solar associations.

<sup>2</sup> King, *Creation*, I, 200, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *CT*, XXIV, 20, 18. She is the *Ομορωκα* of Berossus, to be read 'Αμοροκ, since the isopsephism demands the excision of the ω, and the final α is inexplicable, short vocalic endings being regularly dropped in late Babylonian, and hence omitted in Greek transcriptions. 'Αμοροκ evidently represents Ama-Engur; for the metathesis cf. *šurinnu* for

This river, also called *Ḫubur* (see below), 'river of fertility,' interchanges with the *apsû*, just as among the Egyptians the heavenly Nile and the Nile in the underworld often take the place of the celestial ocean and the subterranean ocean, *Nûn*.<sup>1</sup> The mouth is then, from another point of view, the sources through which this river bursts into the upper world.<sup>2</sup> The conception is often graphically illustrated. The Egyptian *Nûn* is represented as emitting the two or four sources of all waters (see below) from his mouth (cf. Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 47). Similarly the two Nile sources (*qrṭḫ*) are hieroglyphically denoted by two serpents pouring water from their mouths. The same idea is found among the Greeks; Miss Harrison (*Themis*, p. 368, Fig. 99) reproduces a vase-painting in which the river-god Achelous appears as a human-headed bull, pouring the water of the river from his mouth, a conception described poetically by Sophocles (*Trachin.*, pp. 9 ff.), who says that the Achelous had three forms, a bull,<sup>3</sup> a brilliant winding serpent, and an ox-headed man, down whose dark beard streams of spring water flowed.<sup>4</sup> In late Mesopotamian syncretism (Apoc. 12, 15,)<sup>5</sup> the dragon of chaos emits a river from his mouth to drown the pregnant goddess. The river-god often appears as a serpent; nothing is more common

*šunir*. *Tiḫmat* is called (*Creation Epic*, I, 113; II, 19) *ummu Ḫubur pātiqat kalāmu*, 'Mother *Ḫubur*, creator of everything,' an appellative which belongs properly to *Engur*. When *Apsû* was masculinized, his feminine attributes passed to his consort, whom they fit but poorly, as she primarily embodies the salt water of the ocean.

<sup>1</sup> As previously remarked, the Egyptian *Nûn* is parallel to the *apsû* (there is, of course, no Sumerian *nun*, 'heavenly ocean,' as Hommel thought), both of which are located in the underworld; cf. Lefébure, *Sphinxz*, I, 31 ff., and such phrases as *mw ntī m dw't ḫr šgm nf*, 'the waters which are in the underworld hearken to him.'

<sup>2</sup> The source of the waters is also conceived of as the vagina of the earth-mother *Nin-kūr*, etc.), who, in the Langdon Epic, bears vegetation after nine months' gestation, as Jastrow has happily shown. In another article I shall try to show, following a hint of Barton's, that col. II, 9, obv., of this "epic" is to be rendered, literally, 'From the place of the flowing forth of the waters which open the womb.' As the necessary illustrative matter will be given there, I will content myself here with referring to *naqbu*, 'source,' and Heb. *neqebā*, 'female,' alluding to the vagina; מַעֲיָן and בֹּאֵר of the beloved (Cant. 4:12, 15); cf. also Eisler, *Wellenmantel und Himmelszelt*, II, 380, and for the *Kinderbrunnen* in the lap of mother-earth, from which all infants come to be born of women, Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, pp. 18 ff., 125 f.

<sup>3</sup> The conception of the river as a mighty bull is common; cf. the Egyptian Nile-bull Osiris-Apis, the *k<sup>o</sup> km*, 'black bull,' and Enki, the *am-gig-abzu*, 'black bull of the *apsû*' (*RA*, XXVIII, 216).

<sup>4</sup> Ἀχελῷον λέγω, | ὅς μ' ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν ἐξήτει πατρός, | φοιτῶν ἐναργῆς ταῦρος, ἄλλος<sup>1</sup> αἰόλος | δράκων ἐλκτός, ἄλλος<sup>2</sup> ἀνδρείω τύψῃ | βούπρωρος, ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενεάδος | κρουνοὶ διερραίνοντο κρηναὶ ποτοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 379–98.



than to compare a meandering stream to the sinuous folds of a snake<sup>1</sup> (cf., e.g., for the Nile, the Cephissus, Jordan, and Leontes, etc., Renouf, *PSBA*, XIII, 11; for the Hâbûr, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 227). This provides a natural explanation of the river-name <sup>id</sup> *dSāgan* (or *Muš-tin-tir-dub*, 'the river (called) Serpent-god who destroys the abode of life,' alluding to the destructive floods caused by it. However, since we should hardly expect such an ill-omened name, Frank (*Religion*, p. 253) may be correct in reading *dSagan-tin-tir-sig-sig*, "Der Schlangengott, der die Lebenswohnung grünen macht."<sup>2</sup>

Other evidence for our result may be drawn from philological considerations. *BAD* means both *pû*, 'mouth,' and *nagbu*, 'source,'<sup>3</sup> values hard to separate from *bad*, 'open,' especially in view of the similar development of *dû*, 'open'; cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, XIV, 19-20, *a-gâl dû-gâl-a-ta é-a*, *id-maḡ-a-diriga ḡé-gâl-bi bār-bār* = 'The streams which from the sources go forth, the mighty rivers, abounding in water, which spread their fertility.' A synonym of *KA*, *unu(TE-UNU) = pû*, 'mouth,' is explained (*SGL*, p. 53) as originally referring to the hole in which the foundation-stone was laid. This is supported by *HCS*, 1, 270, (*dlu*) *ša šinā dūrāni lamû pî dimti tûbal ema ḥîri rukkusu*, which may be rendered (contrast *JAOS*, XXXVI, 232), '(a city) surrounded by two walls joined at the base (*pû*) of the towers by platforms (*tûbalû*) across (for *ema* cf. *VB*, IV, No. 15, col. VI, 14 f.) the moat.' *Maqlû*, IV, 35, *bi<sup>2</sup> ša dûri*, preceded by *askuppatu*, 'threshold,' and followed by *titurru*, 'bridge,' evidently has the same meaning. The proper Sum. expression for 'base of wall' may be *ûr-ingar-ra-gè* (*SGL*, p. 26) = *asurrû* (properly 'ground water'; the foundations were carried down to water-level, where work was interrupted by the *apsû*). I find it hard to resist the impression that *inu = kir*, 'mouth' (see below), in the phrase *KA-GA-A = parâçu*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griech. Kunst und Religion*, p. 155, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above on *gud-DUB*.

<sup>3</sup> The Sumerian value *nagbu* is an Akkadian loan word. The genuine word was perhaps *idim*, as suggested by the phonetic complement *ma*, sometimes found; e.g., Langdon, *Liturgies*, Pl. LXVI, 19, we have *é an-šû kûr-ra ki-šû BAD-ma* = 'the temple, mountain above, abyss beneath.' In this case the primary meaning of the word may have been 'the remote, inaccessible place' (*idim = nisû, râqu*, *SGL*, p. 21), which is very interesting in connection with the statement (*GE*, XI, 205) that the *pî nârâti* is located *ina râqi*. See, however, below for less problematical explanations.

'split,' is the Sem. *inu*, 'eye, hole, spring,' just as *BAD* has the Sem. value *nagbu*. However, *inu* may be our *unu*—or conversely (?).

This prepares us to understand the passage in the Langdon Epic, obv. II, 11, *ka-a-ki-a-lāg-ta a-dūg-ki-ta mu-na-ra-gina* = 'From the flowing springs of the earth, from the place of sweet water, it (the water) shall come forth for thee.' In an extended study of the poem, to appear elsewhere, it will be shown that this rendering suits the context exactly; *girman* in line 1 may perhaps mean 'twin source' (the rivers are called *maš-tab-ba*, 'twins').<sup>1</sup> According to II R. 51, 42, the canal *Arahtu* had the Sum. name <sup>id</sup>*KA·ga·<sup>d</sup>DE*, which I would render 'the abundant source of the god of irrigation.' This is the name read by a former generation of scholars *Guḥande*, which was supposed to be the biblical *Gihon*. Needless to say, the name *Ka-ga-<sup>d</sup>DE* corresponds to *naqab nuḥši*, 'source of fertility,' in canal names (i.e., *Nār Samsuiluna naqab nuḥši*). As Witzel has pointed out (*BA*, X, 5, 10, n. 1), the *ka* of a canal, employed in contrast to the *kun*, 'dam, reservoir,'<sup>2</sup> is the mouth, i.e., the river-source from which the canal flows.<sup>3</sup> From the preceding it appears clear that in Sumerian a spring was called 'mouth' instead of 'eye,' as in Semitic. While *igi*, 'eye,' may also have been used in the same way occasionally, its usual Semitic equivalent in a topographical sense is *pānu*, 'face,

<sup>1</sup> *Girman* seems to be a form like *sagman*, 'twins,' lit. 'two head': *gir* will then be a variant of *kir* (*KA*), 'mouth,' which is not doubtful at all, as *SGL*, p. 119 might lead one to suppose. The apparent interchange of *g* and *k* is not unusual; cf. *gir* and *kir* = *nagar-ruru*, 'run,' *gir* and *kir* = *qarāṣu*, 'gnaw, break off' (*SGL*, p. 92, 119).

<sup>2</sup> *Kun* = *miḥru*, 'dam' (Br. 2040, etc.), syn. of *sikru* (*nāra sikēru*, or, by metathesis, *kasāru*, means 'dam a river, or canal'); *miḥir nāri* also = *giš-gi-gi* or *giš-keš-da*, 'dam' (cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *VB*, I, 46, n.d., and *HCS*, 34, n. 5). The fact that *kun* = *zibbatu*, 'tail,' has led Witzel to explain it falsely as 'end' (*BA*, VIII, 5, 10, n. 1). We would expect the word for 'dam' to be written *giš-kun*, which is the ideogram for *rapaštu*, 'shoulder' (from *rapāšu*, 'be broad,' Ar. رَفَش , as Holma has shown), Heb. *šēkem*, which corresponds in meaning to Sum. *gú*, 'the ridge of the back behind the neck.' Both *šēkem* and *gú* = *kišādu* are used also for 'ridge, bank of a river.' Since *gú* is a modified form of *gun*, we can hardly separate it from *kun* = *rapaštu*, whose ideogram *GIŠ-KUN* is simply borrowed from \**giš-kun*, 'dam.' For the passages in which the *ka* and *kun* of a canal are contrasted, see Witzel, *loc. cit.* That my explanation is correct is shown by the *kudurru* of Melišipak, col. II, 19 (*BA*, VIII, 2, 4), where the *miḥru*, 'dam,' and the *namba<sup>2</sup>u*, 'source,' of the canal *Nār šarri* represent the Sumerian *kun* and *ka*, respectively, or in modern parlance the 'barrage' (weir) and 'sluiceway.'

<sup>3</sup> As observed in the preceding note, in *BA*, Witzel explained *ka* correctly, but missed *kun*; later, in *Babyloniaca*, VII, 56, he misinterprets *ka*, explaining it as 'river-wall,' on the basis of Br. 542, *KA* = *sukku*. The equation is, however, false; what we have is *ú-dug* = *usukku*, 'sanctuary,' naturally identical with *usug* = *eširtu* (*SGL*, p. 55; *uzug*); for the phonetic change cf. *Nidaba* = *Nisaba*. Thureau-Dangin's explanation of the passage in the text of *Utu-gegal* is unquestionably correct.

surface<sup>1</sup> itself primarily *pluralis intensivus* of *pû*, 'mouth' (Haupt, *AJSL*, XXII, 258). Also Gr. *στόμα* was used of *fons* as well as of *ostium*; cf. Herodotus i. 202, where he says of the Araxes, *στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα, πλὴν ἐνός, ἐς ἑλέα τε καὶ τεράγεια ἐκδιδού*. Schweighäuser (quoted in Creuzer-Bähr, I, 406) maintained that *ἐξερεύγεται* "non de ostiis in mare se exonerantibus debere ac cipi, sed de rivis e quadraginta orificiis . . . magna vi erumpentibus" (contrast, however, article, "Araxes" in *Pauly-Wissowa*).<sup>2</sup> Even in Assyrian our usage survived; *piâtî*<sup>3</sup> is employed by Shalmaneser III (*BA*, VI, 1, 55; see below) for the sources of the Tigris. His predecessor Aššûrnâcirapli III uses *piâtî* for the mouths by which the Ḫâbûr emptied into the Euphrates.

Evidently, therefore, the *id-ka-min-na* represent the sources (respective source; see below) of the Tigris and Euphrates, the twin streams, constantly associated in ancient and modern times alike, so closely in fact that the cuneiform ideogram for Mesopotamia is *BUR-BUR-KI*, the land of the (two) rivers (*bur*),<sup>4</sup> just as Egypt is the *ṭ-mrî*, 'land of the inundation.' Though later identified with northern Mesopotamia and even with Armenia (by the Assyrians, who themselves lived in northern Mesopotamia), we may suppose that originally it comprised the whole valley, both *Ki-engi*, 'the land of irrigating ditches and reeds,'<sup>5</sup> with the political name Sumer (which cannot be derived from it), and *Ki-uri*, 'the land of timber' (? *ûr* = *gušuru*; *giš* is too general and includes shrubs and vines as well as trees)—in prehistoric times northern Mesopotamia seems to have contained extensive forests, which later disappeared. Our explanation of *BUR-BUR-KI* is supported by the fact that *bur* is a common element in old Sumerian river-names. Besides *Buranun*, 'the mighty river,' we have *Ḫâbûr*, presumably going back to a Sumerian *Gabur*, 'river of abundance'; the valley of the Ḫâbûr is still renowned for its

<sup>1</sup> Hence *igi* is explained by *mātu*, 'land' (*SGL*, p. 19).

<sup>2</sup> Vergil (*Aeneid* i. 245) employs *os* in a similar way; *ora novem* = 'nine sources.'

<sup>3</sup> Form like Heb. פִּי־אֵת.

<sup>4</sup> Barton has a different view of the origin of the sign (*Bab. Writing*, No. 316), but I fail to see any cogent evidence for the palm-tree theory. When the sign first meets us in the Gudea texts it is clearly *BUR+BUR*; the assumed earlier forms are very doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> This rendering seems still the best; note that the Brussels vocabulary writes, instead of *KI-EN-GI* or *KI-IN-GI*, *KI-BI-E-GI* (*RA*, X, 70; Pinches, *PSBA*, XXXV, 155). While the *BI* is disconcerting (cf. Pinches), the *E* may be original.

luxuriant vegetation; cf. Layard's glowing description (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 227). The mythical river *Ḫubur* (the *u* stands for *a*, by vocalic harmony) has the same meaning; Jensen's suggestion (*KB*, VI, 1, 307 f.) that *Ḫubur* means "das Nordland" and Delitzsch's view (*SGL*, p. 215) that *Ḫubur* has the primary value "tief, Tiefe" can hardly be correct.<sup>1</sup> While originally the subterranean river of fertility (see above), *Ḫubur* becomes later the river of death, as in Craig (*Rel. Texts*, p. 44, 16–17), where the mention of the *uruḫ māti*, 'way of death,' is followed by *nāri Ḫubur*; cf. also *op. cit.*, page 17, 1, 3, 5, addressed to Tammuz: *enūma tallaku uruḫka—enūma tebbiru nār Ḫubur—enūma* (so) *tallaku ċêra* = 'When thou dost traverse thy way—when thou crossest the river *Ḫubur*—when thou dost traverse the desert.'<sup>2</sup> While the subject of the waters of death will be treated elsewhere, the gist of my conclusions may be given here. As the Babylonians placed both *Aralû* and the *apsû* in the underworld, they naturally found it difficult to fix their geographical boundaries. In the ensuing confusion the river of death was thrown together with the subterranean mother of rivers. While we are not concerned here with the origin of the former conception, one can hardly doubt that the belief in underground waters, which the dead had to pass en route to Hades, played a guiding rôle in its formation. The *apsû* shows a tendency to encroach upon Hades proper, whence the latter was regarded as a *refrigerium* (as in Egyptian eschatology), where the shades drank pure water.<sup>3</sup> The idea expressed in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ki-ġu-bur-ra* is 'the place of the (river) *Ḫubur*,' the underworld, and is used allusively for 'the depth.' Jensen's view is based primarily upon the equation *Ḫu-bu-urki* = *Subartum* (II R. 50, col. II, 51), which is, however, almost certainly an erroneous combination of the Assyrian scholars. It is not difficult to point out how the mistake arose. In southern Babylonia there was a city *A-ĠA-KI* or *ĠA-A-KI* (Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, pp. 121 f.), with the Semitic equivalent *Šubaru* or *Šuraru*, which legend made the home of the young Tammuz. Since, however, *Dumu-zī-abzu* (the god's full name) was born and reared, according to the theologians, in the *apsû*, or underworld, *Šubaru* was transplanted to the lower world (like *Kutû* and *Eridu*) where the Tammuz liturgies unmistakably locate it, near the river *Ḫubur*. At this point some ingenious lexicographer identified *Subartu*, with the nišbe *Šubarâ*, and the river *Ḫabur* flowing through it, with *Šubaru* on the river *Ḫubur* in the underworld. We must remember that the *Ḫubur* was probably fancied to lie in the northern part of the lower world (see below). Cf. also Langdon, *Liturgies*, p. 115; *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 138, n. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Sum. edin=ċêru*, 'desert, steppe,' is also a tropical name of the abode of the dead; *Gašan-edina* = *Bêlît ċêri* is a goddess of Hades, who in the later hierarchic system is subordinated to *Ereškigal*, with the title *dupšarrat erċitîm*, 'scribe of Hades.' Originally the dead were probably supposed to go westward over the desert to *Kurnugea*, like the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *NE*, 17, 45 = 19, 40, and tablet XII, col. VI, 1.

Gilgames epic that one had to cross the *mê mûti* in order to reach Elysium at the *pî nârâti* is a natural result of the initial confusion. The barrier which seemed necessary to keep mortals out of Elysium was simply borrowed from the topography of the underworld (see below).

The quest for sources has always possessed a rare fascination for human minds, and river sources seem to have no small degree of this seductiveness, as is testified by the age-old search for the sources of the Nile and the Ganges. Where the sacral character inherent in fountains was increased by the reverence paid in Mesopotamia at all times to the waters of the twin rivers, the donors of life and prosperity, we may safely expect to find the fountains from which the Euphrates and Tigris issue regarded with superstitious veneration. So it has been, from the earliest ages to the present day. The sources of the Kara Su at Dümli, several hours north of Erzerum, are considered holy both by Christians and by Moslems, who make pilgrimages to them from some distance. The cold, crystalline water is thought to be a sovereign remedy for man and beast alike.<sup>1</sup>

In Assyrian times we find the same worship of the sources. Shalmaneser III (860–825) visited the sources of the Tigris at least twice (cf. Unger, *Zum Bronzetur von Balawat*, pp. 57 ff.) and left inscriptions to commemorate his presence. In the *Obelisk* (pp. 69 ff.), he describes his first visit (in 853) in the following terms: *adî rêš nâr êni ša nâr Diqlat, ašar mûçû ša mê šaknu, âlik, kak Aššûr ina libbi ûlîl, niqê ana ilânî'a ačbat, naptan ħudûtu aškun, çalam šarrûta . . . ina libbi ušêziz* = 'To the source of the river Tigris, where the waters flow forth, I went; the weapon of Assur I cleansed there, sacrifices to my gods I offered, a banquet (i.e., a sacramental meal) I made, my royal image I set up there.' The second visit (in 845) is celebrated with the words: *ina rêš nâr êni ša nâr Diqlat çalam šarrûti'a ina kâpi ša šadê ina çît naqabiša abnî* = 'At the source of the Tigris, on the cliff by the exit of its source, my royal statue I carved (lit. constructed).' On the bronze gates of Balawat the journey in 853 is described in very interesting terms (*BA*, VI, 1, 55): *ina piâtî ša nârî êrub, niqê ana ilânî aq(q)î, çalam šarrûti'a ušâziz* = 'Into the sources (i.e., into the caverns from which the river emerges) of the river I entered; sacrifices to the gods I offered; my royal statue I erected.' Shalmaneser

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *ARW*, III, 4 f.

visited the headwaters of both rivers; in his throne-inscription (*BA*, VI, 1, 152, 12 f.) he styles himself *âmir-ma ênâti ša nâr Diqlat u nâr Purâti* = 'The one who saw the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates' (cf. also the *Colossus*, ll. 27 f.).

Art and mythology pictured the sources as springing from a vase or vases in the *apsû* (for the seal cylinders representing the spouting vase and the streams see now Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 213-18).<sup>1</sup> The first serious treatment of the sigillographic material was given by Hoffman in a learned article (*ZA*, XI, esp. pp. 273-79), unfortunately rather defective from the Assyriological point of view. That the group really represents the two rivers, sometimes doubted, is clear from the cylinder of Sargon the Elder (*ca.* 2850),<sup>2</sup> portraying symmetrically two heroes of the Gilgames type holding vases from which streams gush, to provide water for vegetation (indicated by sprouts) and herds (two buffalos).<sup>3</sup> Ward, No. 648, exhibits Ea in his subterranean abode, surrounded by the waters of the *apsû*, the escape of which is prevented by two genii, who stand at the gateposts.<sup>4</sup> In No. 649 Ea stands on the goat-fish and the man-fish, symbolizing fertility; from his shoulders flow two streams, while in his hands he holds the spouting vase. In No. 654 the vase is held by the man-fish. The fish beside the streams prove that they represent actual water courses. This mystic vase seems to be alluded to Gudea, Cyl. A, 25, 17-19, where we read: *ê-nad-da mu-dû-dè kûr-šâr-da mes-ku(g)-abzu-a dūg il-la-âm* = 'The bed-chamber (of the god) which he built was (like) the cosmic mountain (apparently representing the northern mountains, in which the entrance to the underworld was fancied to lie; see below) in which the pure hero of the *apsû* (presumably Enki-Ea) holds (his) vessel.' The reading *dūg* is due to Thureau-Dangin, but the comparison can hardly be with the vessel (Th-D), for syntactic reasons alone. In the cylinder of Gudea

<sup>1</sup> The development of the idea may have been assisted by the paronomasia between *buru*, 'river,' and *bur*, 'vase, urn,' neither of which have anything to do with Assy. *bûru*, 'well.' There are many such coincidences between Sumerian and Semitic, which are not to be taken seriously (*AJSL*, XXXIV, 87, n. 1), though in some cases we may have to do with unrecognized loan words.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, Nos. 26, 156. The symbolic function of the representation is discussed in an article on Gilgames and Engidu, to appear in *JAOS*.

<sup>3</sup> As Ward pointed out, the animals are water buffalos.

<sup>4</sup> The *lû ni-dû dEnki-gê*; see above.

(Ward, No. 650; cf. Heuzey, *RA*, V, 129 ff., and Gudea, Cyl. A, 18, 14 ff.) Ningirsu appears as lord of the inundation, with spouting vases, and two jets of water leaping from his shoulders.<sup>1</sup>

If there is any lingering doubt about the significance of the vase, and its relation to the *pî nârâti*, this should be removed by a comparison of parallel Egyptian conceptions, already suggested by Sayce and others.<sup>2</sup> The primitive Egyptians believed that the Nile issued from one or two caves, called *qrt* or *tpht*.<sup>3</sup> In the conventional representation (cf. *PSBA*, XIII, opp. p. 10, and *RT*, XXXVII, 24) there is depicted a cliff surmounted by the Horus-falcon of Hieraconpolis and the *Nhbt*-vulture of Elkab, above a cavern encircled by a serpent, in which crouches *Hcpî*, the Nile, holding two vases in his hands from which flow two streams—the two Niles. The Nile sources are denoted hieroglyphically by two serpents pouring water from their mouths (cf. above), properly the snake guardians of the sources, according to a well-known motive, also occurring in Arabia and Mesopotamia. In the Pyramid Texts the cataract-goddess Satis is said to hold four vases, from which the four sources of the Nile spring, in Elephantine, south of the cataract (cf. *PT*, 1116, 1691; Roeder, *ÄZ*, XLV, 24; Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 46, 370). Later Satis was confounded with the Sirius star, Sothis (*Spd*, perhaps 'the fertilizer'; cf. the Iranian Tištrya), and the Nile was imagined to spring from a drop falling annually from the rainy star, a conception surviving to the present day (cf. Renouf, *PSBA*, XIII, 9). *Hnûm* of Elephantine, the head of the local triad, is also, as might be expected, associated with the Nile sources, as is indicated by the hieroglyphic writing of his name with a vase. Paronomasia may also play a part, combining *Hnm* with *hmnt*, 'well, fountain.' The goddess of life and fertility, *Hqt*, the holy Nile frog, is addressed (cf. Spiegelberg, *Sphinx*, VII, 217) as the *whm-nh pr m qrtî*, 'the life-giver, who goest out from the two sources'; perhaps there was another pun between *qrtî* and *qrr*, 'frog' (Ar. *qurra*). The most explicit account of Egyptian ideas on the subject is given by Herodotus

<sup>1</sup> The name Ningirsu, Lord of Girsu (a section of Lagas), seems to have been combined by popular etymology with *girsi*, 'inundation'; see below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, p. 137, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Eg. *qrt* is ultimately connected with Heb. *maqôr*, 'fountain,' and Ar. *yaqr*, 'cavity in the rock'; *tpht* is related to Ar. *kahf*, 'cave,' and Assyr. *kuppu*, 'fountain,' as will be shown elsewhere.

ii. 28, on the authority of a Saite priest, whose testimony was more reliable than the father of history judged. According to this conception the Nile rises at Elephantine from two exceedingly deep pits, on the summits of two hills. The two sources are called, according to Herodotus,  $\text{K}\rho\omega\phi\iota$  and  $\text{M}\omega\phi\iota$ , which have variously been explained (Maspero, Spiegelberg) as  $*Qrf$ ,  $*Mwf$  ('his source, his water'), and  $*Qr-h^c p_i$ ,  $*Mw-h^c p_i$  ('the source of the Nile, the water of the Nile'). The latter restorations are unquestionably preferable to the former, in view of the final  $\iota$ . However, the explanation of  $\text{M}\omega\phi\iota$  as 'water of the Nile' is highly improbable; I would suggest that  $\text{M}\omega\phi\iota$  stands for  $*\text{T}\mu\omega\phi\iota$ , a corruption of  $*\text{T}pht-h^c p_i$  (cf. Smendes for  $Nsbndd$ ), since  $\text{tpht}$  is the ordinary synonym of  $qrt$ . The Saite priests' remarkable statement that the two streams flow in the opposite directions, the one toward the north, the other in the direction of Ethiopia, has not been taken seriously hitherto, but turns out to be partly correct after all. Chélu (*Le Nile, le Soudan, l'Egypte* [Paris, 1891], p. 67), called the attention of the world to the curious fact that above the first cataract, on the left bank of the Nile, there is a strong counter-current, flowing upstream for about a hundred kilometers. Barks northward bound avoid this current very carefully, in order not to be carried back again. The bearing of this phenomenon upon the passage in Herodotus has been noted by Von Bissing and Boussac (*RT*, XXXII, 45; XXXVII, 26). Evidently the prehistoric Egyptians, whose knowledge of the Upper Nile was very limited, noted this fact, and jumped to the conclusion that there were two Niles, rising at the cataract and flowing in opposite directions. In modern times the Maelstrom has been explained in just as naïve a way. When the Egyptians became better acquainted with the geography of the Nile, our conception had become a fixed tenet of mythology, where it survived into Greek times, with the tenacity peculiar to religious beliefs. Of course, no traveler took the idea seriously, but the priests and the people clung to it with habitual conservatism. The notion that there were four vases, whence as many Niles rose, is merely a step in the direction of symmetry—a river for each direction, an idea which we will also find in Mesopotamia.

Returning to the incantatory literature, we will find an abundance of material confirming our thesis indirectly. The whole lustrational



system is bound up intimately with the use of ritually pure water from the sources of the rivers or from fountains springing directly from the *apsû*, uncontaminated by exposure to the upper air, and defiling contact with men and animals. That the water was often only nominally pure goes without saying (see below). The most explicit mention of the sources is found in an incantation of the *a-gùb-ba* (holy water) type, published by Ebeling (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, No. 34):<sup>1</sup>

1. *Mê ellûti mê ebbûti mê namrâti*  
*a-imin-a-râ-imin* <sup>id</sup>*Idigna* <sup>id</sup>*Buranunu*  
*a-ba-ni-sud a-ba-[ni-] el-la a-ba-ni-laḡ-laḡ*
10. <sup>id</sup>*Asari-lù-dug [a-ma-] tu(?) -ka ša balâti lu-maḥ(!)-rat(?)*<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>id</sup>*[Asari(?)] bêlu k[i-bi-i]t-ka lu-maḥ-rat*  
*[?ar] ki-ka naqbu ša* <sup>id</sup>*Ea bêl Eridu arkat-ka lu-maḥ-rat(?)*<sup>3</sup>  
*[i-] di-ka* <sup>id</sup>*Asari-lù-dug mê tâmti tâmâti rapšâti*  
*mê nâr Idiqlat mê nâr Puratti ellûti*
15. *ša ištu kuppê ana šad Ḥašur aḡûni*  
*a* <sup>id</sup>*Buranunu a-kug-ga* <sup>id</sup>*Buranunu*  
*a-kug-ga* <sup>d</sup>*Asari-lù-dug ûtallil marça*  
*a-kug-ga me-en a-el-la me-en a-la-la-na<sup>4</sup> me-en*  
*a-laḡ-laḡ-ga me-en a-kug-ga* <sup>id</sup>*Buranunu*
20. *a-kug-ga* <sup>d</sup>*Asari-lù-dug ûtallil marça* =

1. Pure waters, bright waters, shining waters—  
 With waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, seven times seven times,  
 One has sprinkled, one has cleansed, one has purified.

10. O Marduk, may thy [wor]ld of life be favorable!  
 O lord [Marduk], may thy c[omman]d be favorable!  
 [Beh]ind thee is the source of Ea, lord of Eridu; may what is behind  
 thee be favorable!  
 [At] thy side, O Marduk, is the water of the sea, of the wide seas,  
 (But) with the pure waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates,

<sup>1</sup> The text has also been studied by Schröder (*ZA*, XXX, 88 ff.), whose treatment differs considerably from mine. The text is not bilingual to the extent that he supposes, but merely alternates between Sumerian and Akkadian; the Semitic additions are naturally glosses to the original, expansional rather than explanatory.

<sup>2</sup> Schröder reads [?] -šû gû nig-ti-la-šû ḡé-en-tuk, taking the next line as [*a-mat ba-la-ti*]-ka lu-maḥ-rat, translating "(Marduk) möge das Wort zu seinem Leben annehmen," all of which is very unlikely; *nig-ti-la* would be a new word.

<sup>3</sup> Schröder's reading is entirely different. *LI* is surely *arkatu*, a common value, though accidentally omitted by Delitzsch in his "Eimer, aus einem Meere geschöpft."

<sup>4</sup> Sum. *tan* = *zakû* (*SGI*, p. 156); cf. Schröder.

15. Which go forth from their sources to Mount 𒂍ašur,  
 With water of the Euphrates, with holy water of the Euphrates,  
 With holy water Marduk has purified the sick man.  
 Holy waters are they (resp. ye), bright waters are they, clear waters are  
 they  
 Pure waters are they—holy waters of the Euphrates.
20. With holy water Marduk has purified the sick man.

Schröder has overlooked the fact that a fragment of our incantation, corresponding with slight variations to lines 15–19, has been published (CT, XXXIV, 17, K. 16350):

ša ištu kuppê ana šad H[ašur . . . . ]  
<sup>id</sup>Buranunu <sup>id</sup>Bura[nunu . . . . ]  
 a-kug-ga <sup>d</sup>Asari-lù-dûg[ ]  
 a-kug-ga [ ]  
 [a-lāg-la]g[a . . . . ]

Other incantations of our type are found in ASKT, 90, XIX, 1 ff. (<sup>d</sup>Asari-alim-nun-na dumu-sag Uruduga-gè a-gùb-ba a-kug-ga a-el-la a-lāg-lag-ga a-imin-a-rá-min-na a-ba-ni-in-sud, etc. = 'Asari-alim-nuna, the eldest son of Eridu [cf. above], with lustral water, holy water, pure water, bright water, twice seven times has sprinkled,' etc.) and ASKT, No. 9, 2 ff. (a-kug-ga [ ] a <sup>id</sup>Buranunu[ ] a sigga-bar-ra sal-[SGL, gême]zid-dè-eš-dug, ka-ku(g) <sup>d</sup>En-ki-gè na-ri-ga-ám, dumu abzu imin-na-ne-ne a-mu-un-kug-ga = 'With holy water [ ] water of the Euphrates [ ] water which the wild goat [i.e., Enki] faithfully prepared, which the holy mouth of Enki purified,<sup>1</sup> the brood of the *apsû*, the seven of them,<sup>2</sup> have sprinkled').

A similar incantation, of great interest, is given in the series Šurpu (IX, 110 ff., resp. 122 ff., Zimmern, BKR, Plate LXXIX).

110. Én: a en-e kúr-gal-ta si-nam-mi[-sá]  
 a <sup>id</sup>Buranunu-kug-ga-ta si-nam-mi[-sá]  
 sig-ga abzu-ta nam-išib-ba PA-KAB-DU [ ]  
 sig-ga Uruduga-gè šub-ne-in[-sum]  
<sup>siš</sup>erin ne-in-tag <sup>siš</sup>ga-šur-ra ne-in[-tag]
115. <sup>d</sup>Na-an-na mu-un-tag <sup>d</sup>Ki-ki mu-un-ta[g]  
<sup>d</sup>En-ki lugal-abzu-gè el-la mu-un-tag

<sup>1</sup> For the idea that the water of the sources passes through the mouth of the wild goat, Enki, cf. the illustrations given above.

<sup>2</sup> CT, XXIV, 16, 29–35 mentions six sons of Enki, one for each sextant. The number seven is perhaps due to Semitic influence.

*lù-gàl-lu dumu-dingir-ra-na kuš-na mu-un-tag*  
*mu-un-el-la mu-un-laḡ-laḡ-ga*, etc. =

110. With water which the lord (Ea) has guided from the great mountain  
 (the underworld),  
 Water which down the pure Euphrates he had guided,  
 The product<sup>1</sup> of the *apsû*, for the purpose of lustration (?).  
 The product of Eridu, an incantation he performed.  
 Cedar one has felled; *ḥašur*-wood one has felled;  
 115. Nanna<sup>2</sup> has felled it; Kiki<sup>2</sup> has felled it;  
 Ea, the king of the pure *apsû*, has felled it;  
 (With it) he has touched<sup>3</sup> the body of the man, son of his god,  
 And has cleansed him, has purified him, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Br. 7011, *sig* = *banû*.

<sup>2</sup> Nanna and Kiki are otherwise not mentioned (was the original reading *an-na an-na*, *ki-a*, *ki-a*?). It is possible that Nanna is a reflection of the moon-god Nanna(r), the carpenter of heaven (*lamga-gal-an-na-gè*), especially since in the curious incantation IV R. 25, col. III, 42 ff. the new moon is said to have risen at its creation from the *Ḥašur*-forest. So far as I know, the passage has not been translated recently, so it may be worth while to give the Sumerian text with a translation:

42. *Ēn: ud an-dim-me-en ud-sar el-la šû-dû-a me-en*  
*an-pa-é* (var. *an-é-a*) *gû-sâ kûr-kûr-ra-gè*  
*su-lim an-ta-gál nam-nir-ra dū-a nîr gab-til*  
 48. *me-lám nigin SIG+ALAM nî-gûš-rî-a*  
*gir-gal mul-mul ud-sar kuḡ-gi-eš dala*  
*an-dim-me-en ki-dim-me-en*  
 54. *ud-sar ne-e an-šár ki-šár dim-me-en*  
*ud-sar ne-e gîš tir-gîš ḡa-šur-ra-ta mu-un-é*  
*ud-sar nîg(dingir; Sem. binût ili)-dim-dim-ma nam-lù-gàl-lu mu-un-dim-ma*  
 60. *ud-sar šû-dû sal-zid-dè-èš-dug-ga*  
*kin ḡGuškin-banda dim-e-da-gè*  
*ud-sar ne-e ka-nu-dù-u-da na-bil* (SGL, na-izi) *nu-ḡur* (SGL, p. 217)  
 66. *ú-nu-kû-e a-nu-[nag-ga]* =

42. When heaven was created and the crescent moon was finished,  
 Rising in heaven over all the lands,  
 Equipped with splendor, adorned with majesty, hero perfect of breast,  
 48. Haloed with radiance, enveloped in form with terror,  
 Gloriously shining forth, the new moon brightly gleaming,  
 In heaven it was created; in earth it was created.  
 54. The new moon (*azgaru annû*—should we read *ud-šar-gibil-e*?) was created in the  
 expanse of heaven and earth;  
 The new moon arose from the *Ḥašur*-forest.  
 New moon, handiwork of the gods, made by mankind,  
 60. New moon, fashioned with perfect and constant care  
 By the craft of *Guškinbanda*, who constructed thee—  
 (Even) the new moon without "mouth-opening" cannot smell incense,  
 66. Nor can it eat or drink.

Ll. 58 ff. show that the incantation is intended to demonstrate the efficacy of the ceremony of the *pû pî*, by which the image of a god was consecrated (see below and *BKR*, p. 139, in this case the cult bark of the moon-god, evidently constructed of cedar from Mt. *Ḥašur*, just as the bark of the Egyptian sun-god *Amôn* was built of Cedar of Lebanon. Col. IV goes on to give the formulas accompanying the ceremony itself.

<sup>3</sup> There is a paronomasia between *tag*, 'fell,' and *tag*, 'touch,' etymologically, of course, identical.

Before entering upon a discussion of the lustrational praxis, it is imperative that some problems which press themselves upon our attention in the foregoing incantations be solved. Their solution will, I think, throw light on a whole series of conceptions closely related to our subject. Mount *Ḥašur* in the Ebeling incantation must be identified with the Assyrian *Kašjari*<sup>1</sup> (Délitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 259), the *Μάσιον ὄρος* of Strabo xi. 14. 2, and the *Maš* of Gen. 10:23 (for Assyrian *Māšu* see below), the modern *Ṭār* 'Abdīn north of *Naḥibna-Nisibis*. This location agrees perfectly with the words, 'pure waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, which go forth from their sources to Mount *Ḥašur*,' since the two rivers skirt this chain in flowing southward.<sup>2</sup> Mount *Ḥašur*, with the appellative *šad erini*, 'the cedar mountain,' is mentioned between *Ḥamanu*, *Amanus*, and *Labnanu*, *Lebannon*, in the list of mountains II R. 51, No. 1, obv. 4.<sup>3</sup> The cedar mountain is also mentioned *Šurpu*, IX, 42 ff.: *giš erin-gal kúr-gal-ta mú-a, kúr-ki-el-la-ta nam-tar-ra, kúr-giš-ga-šur-ra-ta an-uš-sa, ir-si-im-bi a-šag-ga dirig-ga* = 'Great cedar, sprung from the great mountain (i.e., which takes root in the underworld), whose destiny is set in the mountains, a pure place, in the mountain of the *ḥašur*-tree it reaches heaven; its fragrance floats over the plain.' In the *Irra* myth we read (*KB*, VI, 1, 68, 26 f.): *šadā ŠĀR-ŠĀR imtānī qaqqaršu* (cf. *qaqqariš imnū*), *ša qišti* <sup>ic</sup> *Ḥašur uktappira gupnuša* = 'The mountain(s) of *ŠĀR-ŠĀR*<sup>4</sup> he leveled to the ground; he destroyed the trunks of the trees of the *Ḥašur* forest.'<sup>5</sup> It is generally supposed that the *ḥašur* was a particular species of cedar, which is possible, but not probable. Such passages as *KB*, II, 22, 76 (*Tiglath-pileser IV*), *gušurē erini šîḥūti ša kî erēš ḥašuri ana uḫḫuni ṭābu* = 'great cedar

<sup>1</sup> It is hard to decide which of the two forms is more original (cf. *dūg saḡur* = *šakar*, etc.). The interchange of *h* and *k* is not uncommon in Asianic territory.

<sup>2</sup> Mount *Kašjari* may have included *Qaraja Dagh*, southwest of *Dijarbekr*, referred by the Greeks to the *Taurus*.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Zû*-myth the bird makes his perch on *Ĝa-šur nu-zu-kúr-ra-gè* (*CT*, XV, 42 and 43), '*Ḥašur*, the unknown among mountains,' in the far north, corresponding to the Iranian *Harâ berezaiti*.

<sup>4</sup> *KÚR-ŠĀR-ŠĀR* is probably a variant of *KÚR-ŠĀR*, 'earth-mountain,' and here refers to the cosmic world-mountain in the north (the Heb. *הַר מוֹעֵד*, which is presumably an adaptation of *šad kiššati*), confused by the Assyrians with *kúr*, *Hades*, and hence called *Šad Aralî* (see *Délitzsch, Paradies*, pp. 117 ff., and below). Geographically it refers to the encircling mountain chain formed by the *Zagros* and *Taurus*.

<sup>5</sup> The current translations are wrong; *imtānī qaqqaršu* = *qaqqariš imnū*; *gupnu*, 'trunk of tree,' must be distinguished from *gapnu*, 'vine' (*HCS*, p. 39, n. 2).

beams which like the fragrance of *hašur* were good to smell,' prove nothing; the 'fragrance of *hašur*' is merely an archaistic expression. The early Sumerians must have drawn part, at least, of their cedar from Mount Masius,<sup>1</sup> whence it was floated down the Tigris to Babylonia in rafts; cf. Gudea, Cyl. A, col. 22, 3, (ê) *sa-tu-bi erin-a ġa-šú-úr-ra šú-ġé-tag-ga-ám* = 'the *satu* (of the temple) was adorned with cedar of *Hašur*.' The *Ṭûr* is now fairly well forested (Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 408 f. and 418), chiefly with dwarf oak, dwarf fir, and bushes (*astragalus*, etc.). In ancient times it must have contained cedar forests, in its upper reaches, at least. It is a well-known fact that climatic changes, assisted by the enterprise of man, have completely changed the character of the forests in these regions. In the Lebanon, for example, cedar has retired to the summits, being replaced by dwarf oak, juniper, and underbrush.

We are now able to take up a passage from the Tammuz liturgy, *CT*, XV, 26, 22 ff.:<sup>2</sup>

22. *a-ù-a za(l)-al-lá sub<sup>3</sup>-da*  
*id<sup>4</sup>-da id<sup>4</sup>-da ê<sup>4</sup>-sig-gi-da*

1. *me-e<sup>5</sup> dumu ê<sup>4</sup>-da ê<sup>4</sup>-sig-gi-dam<sup>6</sup>*

*<sup>d</sup>Da-mu<sup>7</sup> ê<sup>4</sup>-da ê<sup>4</sup>-sig-gi-dam<sup>6</sup>*

*gudu (RA, X, 96, 211) ê<sup>4</sup>-da ê<sup>4</sup>-sig-gi-dam<sup>6, 8</sup>*

*zag-mu <sup>vi</sup>šerin-ám gab-mu <sup>vi</sup>ššú-úr-man-ám<sup>9</sup>*

5. *e-me<sup>10</sup>-da zag-si-mu <sup>vi</sup>šerin-a-ru<sup>11</sup>-ám*

*<sup>vi</sup>šerin-a-ru<sup>11</sup>-ám ġa-šú-úr-ra-ka<sup>12</sup>*

*mu-gig-gi Tilmun-a-ka(!)<sup>13</sup>*

*i-dè-mu egir-bi zid<sup>14</sup>-sal-im-ma-ni-dug*

*sak-ki-mu men<sup>15</sup>-dala-é<sup>16</sup> sal-im-ma-ni-dug*

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the cedar forest of the *Gilgames* epic is probably to be sought, with Gressmann and Clay, in Syria; cf. also Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> For previous studies of these difficult texts see Zimmern, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Tamuzlieder*, No. 7 (fundamental); Langdon, *SBP*, 334 ff.; Witzel, *RA*, X, 166 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *DU+DU*; cf. *SGI*, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> The variant has *i* (*NI*) for all these signs—a bad piece of phonetic spelling.

<sup>5</sup> Variant *ma-a*.

<sup>6</sup> Variant *da*.

<sup>7</sup> Variant *<sup>d</sup>Da-mu-mu*.

<sup>8</sup> Variant inserts here the line *<sup>d</sup>Esir (KA-DI) i-da i-sig-gi-da*.

<sup>9</sup> Variant *na*.

<sup>12</sup> Variant *kam*.

<sup>10</sup> Variant *um-me*.

<sup>13</sup> Variant omits this line.

<sup>11</sup> So variant.

<sup>14</sup> Variant *zi-da*.

<sup>15</sup> Or *para*; cf. *Yale Syl.*, l. 107, *para*=*agû šarri*, 'royal tiara.'

<sup>16</sup> Variant *so*.

10. *á-diš-kuš (a)-(mu)<sup>1</sup>-ú egir giš erin-na-ka sal-im-ma-ni-dug*  
*murgu-mu TÚG-GAB-gad-dù-a sal-im-ma-ni-dug*  
*ma<sup>2</sup> tu-mu-mu i-ne-šù nad-da=*
22. Sated with lamentation for the shepherd (am I),  
 Who in the river, in the river, was cast,<sup>3</sup>
1. Alas for the child, who in the river was cast.  
 (My) Damu, who in the river was cast,  
 The *pašiš*-prince (*OLZ*, XVIII, 134) who in the river was cast.  
 "On my right is a cedar, on my left<sup>4</sup> is a cypress;
5. My pregnant<sup>5</sup> mother is a consecrated cedar,  
 A cedar of *Hašur*,  
 A dark tree of *Tilmun*.<sup>6</sup>  
 My face behind it is continually propitious;<sup>7</sup>  
 My forehead, decorated with a shining tiara, is propitious;
10. My arm, rising one cubit<sup>8</sup> behind the cedar, is propitious;  
 My shoulder, adorned with a linen mantle, is propitious."  
 Alas for my child—now<sup>9</sup> he lies (dead).

Lines 4–11 are evidently addressed by the image of the god, through the mouth of a lector, to his worshipers, comforting them for their distress with reassuring words; the time is at hand when the god will be reborn from the holy cedar, now pregnant with him. Though now lying dead in his cedar coffin, he will return in due season,

<sup>1</sup> Variant so.

<sup>2</sup> Variant *me-e*.

<sup>3</sup> So with Langdon and Witzel. The orthography cannot be taken seriously in most of the Tammuz liturgies.

<sup>4</sup> So with Zimmern and Witzel; *gab* is for *gub*, *kab*.

<sup>5</sup> *Zag-si* = 'full of side, pregnant'; hence *zag*, properly 'side,' comes to mean 'womb'; cf. Br. 6489, = *rèmu*, and Br. 6516, *zag-lal* = *šassûru* (from Sum. *šà-tûr*, lit. 'the inclosure of the bowels'; contrast *SGL*, p. 163).

<sup>6</sup> *Mu* = *muš*, 'tree,' as often; Langdon's rendering of the line is hardly to be taken seriously.

<sup>7</sup> *Sal-dug* (*SGL*, *gême-dug*) here probably has the meaning 'treat kindly, be favorable toward,' as, e.g., *CT*, XV, 17, 16, *a-a-zu igi-gûl-la mu-e-ši-in-bar sal-zid-ma-ra-ni-in-dug* = 'Thy father beholds thee with a glad eye; constant favor to thee he shows'; cf. also *ASKT*, p. 128, 75–76, *sal-dug-ga dNu-dim-mud-da me-en* = 'the merciful one of Nudimmud am I' (*ri[m]nît Nudimmud anâku*). In these passages the other meaning 'prepare, make ready, adorn' does not fit.

<sup>8</sup> This expression surely means that the image of the god was ithyphallic; *á* is a euphemism for *uš*, like Pers. *dast*, Heb. *iaḏ*, and Assyrian *qātu* (*GE*, VI, 69; I shall show elsewhere that *hardatu* has the sense 'vulva,' a conclusion which Professor Haupt and myself reached independently, on different grounds). As Tammuz is said to be lying dead in his cedar coffin, he cannot be compared directly to Hermes or Min, but rather to the ithyphallic corpse of Osiris, who begot Horus (Harpocrates) posthumously by Isis. One cubit is, of course, the length of the forearm.

<sup>9</sup> *i-ne-šù* = *inanna*.

bringing with him another year of fertility. The *erin-a-ru* is perhaps a cedar trunk set up in the temple, like the *ḏd*-pillar of Osiris or the pine of Attis; the name indicates that it was a *mašṣebá* (cf. Isa. 6:13), like the wooden post of *Ašerá* (cf. *nà-rú-a*, 'stele'), and perhaps the *giš-a-am* of Gilgames.<sup>1</sup> It is very important to note that Tammuz is implicitly identified with the river into which he is cast, just as Osiris is with the Nile.<sup>2</sup> As the lord of vegetation, Tammuz sends the inundation, whence he receives the name *Umun-me-ir-si* = *bél girsá*.<sup>3</sup> The repeated invocations in the Tammuz liturgies to the *illu*,<sup>4</sup> identify the river with the various forms of Tammuz, Ninazu, lord of healing, Ningišzida, Lamga, Esir (KA-DI), Ama-ušumgal-ana, etc. The purpose of this enumeration is not simply litanic, but is to insure the due appearance of the inundation by enlisting the whole-hearted support of the god of vegetation, in all his forms and emanations.

Before considering the significance of the reference to *Ḥašur* in our liturgy, we must dispose of Tilmun. The consensus of opinion has long inclined to the identification of Tilmun with the *Τύλος* of Ptolemy, the modern Bahrein, in spite of the opposition of Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 178), and now of Langdon (*Sum. Epic of Paradise*, pp. 8-11). It seems to me that the combination is perfectly certain, to judge from several converging lines of evidence.<sup>5</sup> Thus Sargon II

<sup>1</sup> For the *giš-a-am* of Gilgames see my paper, *Gilgames and Engidu*, to appear in *JAOS*; the ideogram cannot be made the basis for botanical conclusions (Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, pp. 58 f.). There is perhaps confusion between *giš-a-am*=*ildaqqu* (for *\*iṣ-daqqu*), the scion or shoot figuring in the Tammuz-Gilgames cult, and *GIŠ-AM*=*aṭirtu*, etc., some sort of odoriferous herb.

<sup>2</sup> The analogies between Tammuz and Osiris will be discussed elsewhere in more detail. So far as our knowledge goes, the two cults are independent.

<sup>3</sup> A sharp distinction must be drawn between the two titles of Tammuz, *Umun-li-bi-ir-si* (standard dialect *En-ni [m] gir-si*, not *En-ligir-si*, as sometimes given; cf. also the anomalous writing *ni-mi-ir*, Langdon, *Liturgies*, No. 13, 4, p. 174, n. 1) and *Umun-me-ir-si* (which would be in the standard dialect *En-gir-si*), especially since the signs *NIMGIR* and *MIR* are often confused. *Umun-libir-si* is explained by *susāpīnu* (Br. 6967, M. 4951, *Brussels Voc.*, col. I, 26; cf. Meissner, *RA*, X, 212)=*שושבינה*, 'bridal attendant' (cf. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 28, n. 2, and the references there given). For *mersi*=*girsá*, 'flood,' cf. esp. Langdon, *Liturgies*, p. 96, n. 1, who gives also the writing *gir-si(g)*. The word means properly 'full flood,' which would be in Assyrian *mīlu kiššati* (*a-uba*).

<sup>4</sup> For the reading *illu* of *A-KAL*, lit. 'mighty water,' see *SGL*, p. 273. Witzel is certainly correct in emphasizing the necessity of this explanation, though I am not inclined to follow him much farther in his exegesis (e.g., his rendering of B 21/2 is wrong; "callum 3" in M.-A. is *nilum*). Langdon's reading *a-ri(b)* and rendering 'alas' are both improbable; when the same interpretation is applied to *á-kalag*, 'mighty of strength,' in a hymn praising the power of Ellil in swelling words, it becomes absurd (*SBP*, pp. 222 f.).

<sup>5</sup> So also recently Jastrow, *AJSL*, XXXIII, 104, and Olmstead, *ibid.*, p. 313, n. 6.

says (*Prunkinschrift*, p. 144): *Uperi šar Tilmun ša šelâšâ bêrê ina qabal tâmti nîpîḫ Šamši kîma nûni šitkunu narbaçu* = 'Uperi king of Tilmun, which lies as a lair like a fish thirty double-leagues in the midst of the sea of the rising sun, etc.' The comparison with a fish reminds one forcibly of the modern name of the largest of the Baḥrein islands, Samak, 'fish,' a name due to its oval shape; it is about thirty miles long by ten in width. The thirty *bêrê* given as the distance of Tilmun from the mainland cannot be taken very precisely. It would be a very slow bark that could not make five miles an hour or ten miles a *bêru*. Even at this modest speed thirty *bêrê* would be three hundred miles, nearly the distance from Baḥrein to the mouth of the Euphrates in Sargon's reign. The ancient Mediterranean galleys were capable of 6 to 8 miles an hour, and the triremes are supposed to have made 8 to 10. The Babylonian *fulûka* was, of course, slower.

That Tilmun was an island and not a continental district, as Langdon thinks, is clear from a statement of Esarhaddon (Clay, *Misc. Ins.*, No. 42, 9 f.): *ša elî âl ʿUruru ša qabal tâmti<sup>m</sup> elî u Tilmun ša qabal tâmti<sup>m</sup> šaplît nîri bêlûtišu ukînu-ma* = '(Esarhaddon), who placed the yoke of his rule over the city of Trye, which is in the midst of the upper sea, and over Tilmun, which is in the midst of the lower sea.'

A basalt stone discovered in Baḥrein by Captain Durand (*JRAS* [1880], opp. p. 193) reads *êkal Rîmu<sup>m</sup> arad <sup>u</sup>Inzag aḡêl Aḡîru<sup>m</sup>*, a very ancient tribal name, which Rawlinson identified plausibly with classical Ωγυρίς and modern ʿUqair (*ibid.*, p. 223). Inzag, as observed repeatedly, is the Enzag given *CT*, XXV, 35, obv. 20, as the name of Nâbû-Muḡati in Tilmun. Tilmun, to surmise from the Greek form Tylos, was afterwards pronounced \*Tilḡu, \*Tîlu, probably being felt as an archaic nominative form (cf. *aššu* = *aššum* = *ana šum*, על שום).<sup>1</sup> As the island is covered with burial mounds (Durand,

<sup>1</sup> Hommel and Sayce (see now *PSBA*, XXXIX, 209 f.) maintain that in Tilmun and Laḡamun (name of ʿArapânit in Tilmun; *CT*, XXV, 35, obv. 12) we have the Arabic nunnation. This is doubtless possible for Laḡamun, who cannot be separated from the goddess Laḡamu in the creation epic, but it is just as possible that the *n* is simply dissimilation for *m*. Laḡamu may have been an old goddess of fertility; cf. the sea-demons Laḡmu (with the same name as her consort), from whose name the Arabic *luḡm*, 'shark,' may be derived. As for *riḡamun*, which Sayce explains in the same way, deriving it from רעם, 'to thunder,' it is merely a Sumerian word for 'hurricane,' from *ri(zāqu)* and *ḡamun* (*mîḡburtu*), lit. 'a blowing together,' as shown conclusively by the ideogram. The ancients thought it quite possible for all the winds to blow together; cf. Poebel, No. 1, col. V, 1, *im-ḡul-im-ḡul nî-gur-gur-gâl dū-a-bi dîš-bi nî-lāḡ-gi-eš* = 'The terrible storms all rushed together'; cf. also *Odys.* v. 317, and especially ll. 304 f., ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι | παντοίων ἀνέμων.



*op. cit.*, Jouannin, *DEP*, VIII, *Les tumuli de Bahrein*), it must have been regarded as a sacred place.

Bahrein is famous for its springs of fresh water, bubbling up at several points off the coast, as well as at various places in the island, though here inclined to be brackish. Durand describes the fountain of Adari in the following terms: "The spring is from 30 to 35 feet deep, and rises so strongly that a diver is forced upward on nearing the bottom. The water, where it rises from this deep spring, whose basin artificially banked is about 22 yards broad by 40 long, is as clear as crystal, with a slightly green tinge." It may not be too venturesome to suggest that this is the very fountain referred to (*ASKT*, p. 127, 35 ff.):

*pú-kúr-ra-gè im-gú-nu im-mi-mir*  
*ina búr̄ti šadē qadātu amḥuḥ*  
*pú-kúr-Tilmuna-ka sag-gá a-ba-ni-in-[lag]*  
*ina búr̄ti šadē Tilmun qaqqadu amsî =*

In a fountain of the mountains I have poured<sup>1</sup> mud;  
 In a fountain of Mount<sup>2</sup> Tilmun I have washed my head.

Ištar is here the embodiment of the 'word of Ellil,' the storm wind; cf. *ibid.*, lines 25 ff.: *a-lú-lú-a-mu nu-si-gi*,<sup>3</sup> *izi il-la-mu nu-te-en* = 'the waters which I muddy will not become clear; the fire which I kindle will not go out' (*mê addalḥu ul izákú, išātu uštāḥazu ul ibēlî*). Because of this phase of Ištar's activity Ereškigal calls her (in the Aššûr recension of the Descent of Ištar, obv. 27) *dāliḥat apsî maḥar Ea* = 'she who stirs up the *apsû* before Ea.' Apart from the theological view of Ištar as the goddess of the fertilizing waters in their destructive aspect as well as in their benignity, these phrases seem to reflect a popular fancy that the silt in the rivers was caused by Ištar's washing her hair in the sources. The fountain of Tilmun was presumably given as an illustration on account of its relative familiarity.

<sup>1</sup> Since *mir* = *maḥdḥu*, 'pour' (*miḥḥu*, 'libation'), its other equivalent *mēḥû* 'hurricane,' probably meant primarily 'downpour,' or the like. In an article on Egypto-Semitic etymology to appear in *AJSL*, I have connected *mēḥû* with Eth. *ʿaḥḥ*, 'flood,' and Eg. *ḫḫt*, 'inundation,' taking the root-value to be 'pour.'

<sup>2</sup> The Sumerians do not seem to have had any specific word for 'island'; *nanga* = *nagû* means 'district.' It may be noted that there is a mountain on the island of Samak, Gebel Duḥan, 'the hill of smoke,' which rises about 400 feet from sea-level.

<sup>3</sup> Phonetic writing of *sig*.

Perhaps we can now explain the significance of Tilmun in our Tammuz liturgy. According to Durand (*op. cit.*, p. 191) the Arabs believe that the fresh-water springs of Bahrein come by an underground route from the Euphrates, a perfectly natural idea, not nearly so fanciful as the classical legend of Alpheus and Arethusa. Pliny seems to have a similar story in mind when he states that the Euphrates is said to reappear in southern Arabia.<sup>1</sup> Ḥašur and Tilmun in the liturgy evidently, therefore, represent the two extremities of the twin rivers; Ḥašur their source, Tilmun their mouth. As god of vegetation Tammuz incarnates himself in all plant life, in the cedar of Ḥašur at the northern horizon, whence the rivers flow, and in the 'dark tree' of Tilmun, on the southern horizon, where the rivers reappear for a last glance at the upper world.

After the excursus, let us return to the subject of lustration. The holy water, supposed by a sacramental fiction to come directly from the *apsû*, was drawn from ceremonial lavers called *abzu* (*apsû*), *a-gûb-ba* (*egubbû* = *karpat têlilti, natiktu*), *a-am*; the *tâmtu* constructed by Agum the Second (col. III, 33) is hardly lustrational in character, in spite of its similarity to Heb. *šam*, because of its clear cosmogonic associations in the text. *Apsê* were made by Ur-Nina (*VB*, I, 4d) and Bûr-Sin (*VB*, I, 198c, 12).<sup>2</sup> Where possible, the water may have been conducted to the temple in clay pipes from some neighboring well<sup>3</sup> or spring. The faucets which became thereby necessary to control the flow were called *šaršarê*, 'cocks' (*JAOS*, XXXV, 396 ff.).<sup>4</sup> In such cases the water might fairly be considered the direct gift of Engur, who is addressed (*CT*, XVI, 7, 255) as *nin a-gûb-ba laġ-laġ-ga*, 'lady of the pure lavers' (Sem. *bêlit agubbê el[lûti]*). Ordinarily, however, the water must have been brought into the temple through a canal from the river, as in Mandaean temples (Brandt, *Mandäische Rel.*, p. 97).

Mandaean cult and ritual has, as might be expected, preserved a very strong Babylonian coloring. The Mandaeans were not

<sup>1</sup> Pliny vi. 159.

<sup>2</sup> For *abzu-banda*, etc., see index to *VB*, I.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IV R. 26, 7, 33, *a-pû kuš-nu-tag-ga dūg saġur-ra u-me-ni-si* = 'With well-water which no skin (Sem. hand) has touched, fill a saġur-vessel.'

<sup>4</sup> Domestic cocks were certainly not unknown, even to the Sumerians (*dar-lugal* = תרנגול; the *kurkû*, however, was a wild bird living in the mountains), though poultry do not seem to have been raised on a large scale until the Persian period, when a better breed may have been introduced from India (cf. Peters, *JAOS*, XXXIII, 363 ff.).

contented, however, with transmitting the ideas of their ancestors; they carried the principle of lustration by water to an extreme, finally developing the Gnostic doctrine of the unconditioned necessity and efficacy of baptism. Both the Babylonians and their heirs shared the belief in the sacred nature of running water (Mand. **ܐܪܕܢܐ**, like Syr. **ܐܪܕܐ**, 'stream,' combined by popular etymology with the river Jordan), a conception perfectly natural in a country where standing water generally becomes brackish. No one may urinate or spit in a river, nor can it be used to dispose of sewage; cf. *Šurpu* III, 59, *māmīt nāri šānu u nāri qā'a* = 'a ban incurred by pissing or spitting in a river,' and Brandt (*op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 2). From a sanitary viewpoint these regulations might well be copied by modern nations, along with many other long-neglected taboos of a more primitive age.

Babylonian holy water survived in the Mand. **ܡܐܡܝܒܪܐ** = **ܡܝܒܪܐ**, Assy. *namba'u*, 'fountain,' which Zimmern, in an article on the Mandaean *pehtā* and *mambûhâ*, in the *Nöldeke Festschrift* (pp. 959-67), has happily combined with the holy water employed in the ceremonial known as *mis pî*, 'mouth-washing,' associated with the *pit pî*, 'mouth-opening,' Mand. *pehtâ* (from **ܦܬܚܐ**). As the actual sources were inaccessible, the *mambûhâ* was symbolized by a foaming beaker of mineral water; in practice the water doubtless came from the river. Some scholars may wish to associate this flask with the *çarçar* (cf. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 136, n. 2), but for various reasons I adhere to the explanation cited above. The *egubbû* incantations may be almost exactly duplicated in Mandaean; cf., e.g., *ZMDG*, LXI, 160-61: **ܒܫܘܡܐ ܕܚܝܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܐܢܐܬܚܝܐ ܚܝܝܐ ܐܢܐܬܚܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܢܦܝܫ ܐܝܬܐܝܬܝܚܝܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܝܝܐ ܫܬܐܦܐܝܬܝܚܝܐ ܡܝܬܝܐ. ܡܝܐ ܕܝܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܚܝܝܐ. ܢܝܬܝܚܝܐ ܫܐܒܝܐ ܐܢܝܬܐܝܒܝܚܝܐ ܐܢܝܬܐܝܒܝܚܝܐ**, which, to bring out the similarity, may be translated into Assyrian as follows: *nîš balâti! mê balâti attunu* (Sum. *a namtila men*), *ištu ašri rapši tallikû-ma (ki dagalâta dua)*, *ištu šubti ša bâlâti (tintir) mûta tubbalû. mê balâti ištu šubti ša balâti, damqûti lillikû-ma iṭâbû, limnûti (kîma karpati) liḫtappû* = 'In the name of life! Ye are the living waters, which have come from a wide place, carrying death away from the house of life. O living waters from the house of life, let the good come and be well, but let the bad be shattered (like a pot).'

In Egypt, as might be expected from the similarity of the environment, we find a strikingly parallel, though absolutely independent, system. The best treatment of the subject is given by Chassinat in an important article, "La mise à mort rituelle d'Apis" (*RT*, XXXVIII, 1916, 33-60), dealing primarily with the ritual drowning of the Nile bull, a practice designed to raise to a higher level of divinity a bull endowed with sufficient vigor to reach the allotted span of twenty-five years. Originally the ceremony was doubtless symbolic.

The Egyptians placed the two *qrt<sub>k</sub>*, from which the Nile sprang, at the first cataract, called the *qbhw*, primarily 'the pourer,' like Assy. *natbaktu* (*HCS*, 50, 326). The *qbhw* was thus the place where the divine waters came forth from the *dw't* (underworld) in all their coolness and purity (the stem *qbh* means also 'to cool'; cf. Haupt, *AJSL*, XXIII, 242). The *qbhw* thus became the *refrigerium* of the shades, where they loved to resort during the heat of the day. In the Pyramid Texts the *qbhw*-lake is the place to which the kings go first after death, to be purified by *Hnûm* and *Satis* (cf. *PT*, 1116*a*; also 1301*b*, 1979*a*, etc.). Thus it is said of Seti I, *qbhnf htpnf hrt hnmmf R<sup>c</sup> imi pt* = 'he reached his *qbhw*, his sun set, and he joined *R<sup>c</sup>* in heaven.'<sup>1</sup> The happy denizens of paradise are called the *imiw qbhw* (Chassinat, p. 51, n. 4). The related Babylonian conceptions will be considered below.

Just as in Babylonia, the lustratory ritual required water of untainted purity from the *qbhw* for its holiest purifications. Since the impracticability of this was equally evident, the same substitutes were found. The temple possessed a sacred basin called *qbhw*, *hnmt qbhw*, 'qbhw-well,' or *š qbhw*, 'qbhw-pool,' without the determinative for mountainous region accompanying the word for 'cataract.' When the Ethiopian Pianhi entered Heliopolis, he washed in the *qbhw*-pool, which is described as the water of *Nûn* (= *apsû*), with which *R<sup>c</sup>* himself washes his face (cf. Chassinat, *ibid.*, p. 55, n. 4). Chassinat thinks that the *qbhw* drew its water from the Nile by a subterranean canal, which is perfectly possible, though the Babylonians do not seem to have taken so much trouble to maintain the ritualistic fiction.

<sup>1</sup> Chassinat's interpretation of the passage will hardly hold.

Just as the Egyptians had a ceremonial *qbhw*<sup>1</sup> in their temples, the Babylonians must have had a *pî nârâti* in theirs, though not necessarily, of course, in every temple. The idea that the lustral water was drawn from the muddy mouths of the rivers, which at that time reached the sea separately, is preposterous, and can no longer be maintained in the light of the foregoing remarks. It follows, moreover, from a mere comparison of *CT*, XVII, 26, 64 ff. (see above) and *CT*, XVII, 39, 51 ff.: *ša-a-gùb-ba-šu u-me-ni-šub* [ . . . e] *l-la Uruduga-gè u-me-ni-gub* [ ] *abzu-ta u-me-ni-ag* [*nam-šub-dûg*]-*ga-zu u-me-ni-šub* . . . [<sup>siš</sup> *ba-an-dù*]-*dù á lál-e* <sup>siš</sup> *gam-ma šú-u-me-ti* [*ša*]-*ba a u-me-ni-dé* = 'Into the font of holy water put it; the pure [ ] of Eridu set down; [ ] from the *apsû* bring; thy g[ood incantation] perform . . . take the *pattû*, *alallû*, and ladle; into the midst of it (the *agubbû*) pour the water.' As will be noted, the same utensils figure as in the case of the *pî nârâti* incantation, and the ceremonies must, therefore, have been parallel.

Having thus indicated the main lines of proof for our thesis regarding the ritual *pî nârâti*, let us turn again to the geographical idea. This conception tended to become generalized. It cannot be shown definitely that the Babylonians had developed the notion of a single source of all terrestrial rivers, but it is highly probable that they did. The Mandaeans believed that the source of the rivers lay on the northern mountains, which separate the earth from the world of light, thus grafting Iranian ideas on the Babylonian.

Both Egyptians (see above) and Babylonians (at least in germ)<sup>2</sup> evolved the theory of four great rivers, flowing from a common source to water the four quarters. The early Babylonians seem to have thought, like some of the classical writers,<sup>3</sup> that the Tigris and Euphrates had the same origin, an idea no more fantastic than the early Egyptian conception of the source of the Nile. Under similar circumstances the Hindus developed the idea that the celestial

<sup>1</sup> Chassinat promises (p. 55, n. 1) to prove the identity of *qbhw* and the *fons* of Pliny viii. 46 in a future article. The *q̄p̄ap* from which the Apis-bull drank (Plutarch *De Is. et Osir.* v) also belongs here.

<sup>2</sup> For the Babylonians, we have indirect testimony in the grouping together of four rivers or four river-gods, whose names do not seem to have any particular interest; cf. Hommel, *OLZ*, IX, 658-63, and Pinches, *Exp. Times*, XXIX, 181-84, who are a little too much inclined to draw on the imagination for missing facts.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1899), p. 288.

Ganges, descending from Mount Meru, is divided into four mighty rivers to irrigate the four quarters.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere seven streams appear, one for each *dvīpa* (see below).<sup>2</sup> The Babylonian conception was combined with Iranian motives by the Mandaeans (Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 65), who enumerate four great rivers flowing from the north, the Euphrates, Tigris, Jaxartes, and Oxus,<sup>3</sup> a scheme perhaps independent of the biblical. It may be added that the latter is based, as I believe with Weinheimer (*ZATW*, XXXII, 33–37), upon a similar conflation of the fundamental Mesopotamian conception with corresponding Egyptian. The subject will be treated at length in another article.

It is still more difficult to fix the relations existing between the Babylonian conceptions discussed above and the Avestan cosmology; cf. Carnoy, *JAOS*, XXXVI, 300–320, whose work is useful as a general introduction to the problem—comparative questions demand other methods for their solution. The source of the waters in the Iranian system is the maiden Ardvīšûra Anâhita (lit. ‘the great stream, the unblemished’), the personification of a mythical fountain, through which flow all terrestrial waters from the summit of Mount Hukairya down to the sea Vourukaša (Varkaš), pouring out over the seven quarters of the earth. Ardvī, who in her cult-aspect is the goddess of fecundity, like Ea, represents the life-giving springs and river-sources which are forced up from the subterranean *zrayah vourukaša*, ‘the sea with far-(extended) bays’ (Bartholomae, *Wört.*, col. 1429), the analogue of the *apsû*, by the pressure of the returning floods from above, which empty around its circumference, causing the center to boil up (cf. *Yašt* 5, 4, and *Yasna* 65, etc.). The celestial waters are sent up through special channels to the top of Mount Hukairya, whence they are carried over the earth by the rain clouds. The cyclic theory of aqueous distribution is certainly not primitive, nor is it Babylonian, so far as our limited knowledge of Babylonian

<sup>1</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ed. Hall), II, 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 177–84. The seven *kešvars* of the Persians, and the seven *dvīpas* of the Hindus are ultimately Babylonian. The seven *tubuqāti* of the latter seem originally, however, to have represented the stages of the cosmic *ziqqûrat* (*KAT*³, pp. 615 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> The *האשחרתא* and the *שאר-אנה* are evidently corruptions of the Pahlavi *Khšart* or *Ašart*, Jazartes, and Arang (Av. *Raṇha*), Araxes or Oxus; for the Pahlavi forms cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part I, pp. 77, 80. Brandt made no attempt to identify the names; I do not know whether it has been accomplished by others since or not.

philosophy goes. It is, however, very interesting to see what a naïve but consistent philosophy could do with a set of cosmological postulates essentially Mesopotamian in character, whatever their origin may have been.

We may now take up the question of the *pî nârâti* in the Gilgames epic. According to Jensen's view, almost universally adopted, the hero crosses the desert, passes through a tunnel under Lebanon-Antilibanus (Mášu), arrives at the garden of Siduri (Ba'alat of Byblos) on the Phoenician coast, traverses the Mediterranean, and finally reaches his goal in Andalusia. As remarked above, this certainly gives a symmetrical interpretation of the data, and may in part, at least, have been the view of epic geography which prevailed in Assyrian times, perhaps even when the poem was composed, between 2300 and 2000 B.C. The original geographical background must, however, have been different. Mount Mášu is Mount Masius, and the tunnel may be the tunnel at the source of the Tigris (see below). In an article to appear soon, entitled "Mesopotamian Vine-Deities," it will be shown that the garden of Siduri was localized beyond Mount Hašur, in Armenia or Asia Minor. The sea naturally represents the Mediterranean; the *mê mâti*, while of mythical origin (see above), are geographically, perhaps, the Black Sea, which as the *Ἀἴετος* had a reputation as somber as its color. It goes without saying that we cannot expect the least accuracy in marine geography; even the Homeric Greeks were very hazy as to the relation between the Mediterranean and Euxine, as is evident from the *Odyssey*.

How did the flood-hero come to be associated with the *pî nârâti*? Like most deluge-heroes, Utnapišti<sup>m</sup> landed after the Flood on a northern mountain, a detail which is by no means a mere coincidence, as will be shown elsewhere. In the vicinity he continued to live, instructing his sons (*JAOS*, XXXVIII, 60-65), introducing viticulture, etc. Since Atraḫasis, the prototype of ʿĪḏr-Elias, never dies, but lives forever, he is supposed to dwell here eternally, beyond the northern mountains, where the Mandaeans placed the land of the blessed (cf. Brandt, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 f.). In the same region was the *pî nârâti*, where Ea, Šamaš, and Tammuz (see above) spent their leisure hours. Hither also, just as to the Egyptian *qbhw*, deified kings may have wended their way, in the early Babylonian system

(against which the epic reacts). We may safely assume that the divine monarchs of Akkad and Ūr were not thrust into Aralû, the Land of No-return, with the plebeian shades, but enjoyed the society of the gods at the *pî nârâti*, the Babylonian Elysium. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that, on the Gudea cylinder, the king is led to the god of the spouting vases; there may be an allusion to the future hope of the king. The expression, used of the death of kings, *šadâšu êmid*, 'he ascended his mountain,' perhaps referred to the surmounting by the royal shade of Mount Aralû in the far north, a geographical term probably due to the misunderstanding of the Sum. *kûr*, Hades.<sup>1</sup>

In the Poebel tablet we appear to have a rival theory, in which the postdiluvian home of the hero is placed on Tilmun. As pointed out before, this is the exact opposite of the *pî nârâti* conception. According to this view, Sumerian civilization originated in the south, as in the Oannes legend. We may suppose that this was the theory held in the cities of southern Babylonia, since it was more favorable to their claims of antiquity than the other, which is probably, however, correct.

The origin of the story of Gilgames' journey to the Mouth of the Rivers is more difficult to explain. The episode is, moreover, bound up so indissolubly with the rest of the epic that a solution would carry us far beyond the scope of this paper. Among different motives which may, with more or less certainty, be pointed out, are the westward voyage of the solar hero, the expedition of the storm-god in search of the Mesopotamian analogue of the *sôma* (a motive which appears in various modified forms, as I will try to show elsewhere), the journey of a wise king to draw wisdom from the fountain-head, etc. The geographical nomenclature, which takes us northward, is probably drawn from the second-mentioned source. With the well-known flexibility of early romance, the direction of the route is fancied to be westward, in accordance with the *ḥarrân Šamši*.

<sup>1</sup> See above. *Aralû* is a loan from Sumerian *Arali* (syn. of *Urugal*=Irkalla), written ideographically *E-K ŪR-UŠ(BAD)*, 'the house of the mountain of the dead.' Perhaps one may venture to suggest that *Arali* stands for *ar(i)-ari* (by dissimilation; cf. *turtûla* for *turtûra*, *Larak* for *Lalag* [Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, p. 43], etc.), from *ari*, 'lay waste,' whence *a-ri-a* and *âr*=*namûtu*, 'ruin,' meaning thus primarily 'desolation'; cf. the development of the name Gehenna. It may be added that *kûr*, Hades, was perhaps originally applied to the burial mound or mausoleum.



Originally, the Mouth of the Rivers was placed simply beyond the northern mountains, in some conveniently inaccessible region. Later, when Armenia became better known, the need was felt for a new localization, and Elisyum was placed beyond the seas (the Mediterranean and the Euxine), *ina rûqi*.<sup>1</sup> We may fix the date of the shift with reasonable probability during the great expansion of the Babylonian Empire under the dynasty of Akkad (2850–2650 B.C.). There can be little doubt that the deeds of the Akkadian monarchs became the centers of legendary cycles, fragments of which are found in the Cappadocian (?) story of the *šar tamhari* and in the omen texts, which transfer Sargon's voyage across the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean (Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, pp. 238 f.), a highly romantic venture for that period. The mythical account of Sargon's birth is so familiar as to require no comment. I have little doubt, for reasons to be given hereafter, that the Sargon and Gilgames cycles have exerted a mutual influence. It is even possible that the *iter ad ostia fluminum* has been modified by attraction into the Sargon cycle, just as the *iter ad paradisum*, transferred from Gilgames to Alexander, made a *volte-face* from west to east, carrying Eden with it, as will be shown in another place.

Hartmann (*ZDMG*, LXVII, 749–51) has recently pointed out some facts indicating that the primary location of the *pî nârâti* has perpetuated itself with the most singular tenacity into mediaeval and even modern times. He observes that the Syrians and their Moslem epigoni make Alexander cross Mount Masius and enter the land of darkness en route to Paradise though the tunnel at the source of the Tigris, called by Muqaddasî (ed. De Goeje, p. 146) كهف الظلمات التی دخلها ذو القرنين. Following up this clue, Hartmann suggests that the famous جمع البحرين of the Qur'ân is to be identified with the source of the Tigris. While the association of the tunnel in the Gilgames and Alexander romances with the sources of the Tigris is very ancient, and was perhaps originally intended, the 'juncture of the two seas' is at the best only a reminiscence of the *pî nârâti*, or of its Aramaean rendering, whatever that may have been. To the Arab the two seas were the fresh-water ocean and the

<sup>1</sup> This is the regular expression for a distant region; cf. also above on *idim*, 'source,' and for *Ut-napištim rûqu*, *JAOS*, XXXVIII, 60 f. Our processes are rarely susceptible of unitary explanation.

salt-water ocean, as appears, e.g., from Sûra 35:13, وما يستوى  
 البحران هذا عذب فرات سائغ شرابه وهذا ملح اجاج. In some  
 remote spot the upper waters and the nether waters, like Apsû and  
 Ti'âmat, were fancied to unite in their purity to create life, a con-  
 ception which may be found, with various modifications, in many  
 ancient systems, notably in the Babylonian and the Rabbinic. At  
 all events we may reject the view that Mohammed thought of  
 Gibraltar (Friedländer, after Jensen), of the source of the Tigris, or  
 of any other definite terrestrial location.

It is the province of another study to show how the source of the  
 rivers united with the healing spring, under the auspices of the water  
 of life, giving birth to the fountain of youth. The ramifications of  
 the latter have been well treated by Hopkins (*JAOS*, XXVI, 1-67,  
 411-15); previous discussions are very unsatisfactory. Before  
 closing, however, we must dispose of the *kiškanû*, as promised above.

The function of the *kiškanû* in the incantations (see above) may  
 best be understood by comparing the formulae *Šurpu* IX, in which  
 the plants employed by the physician (resp. magician) are described  
 in the most extravagant terms. Thus the *martakal*<sup>1</sup> is lauded with  
 the words (*Šurpu* IX, 9 ff.):

*Ēn: ʾin-nu-uš ʾu-el abzu-ta mû-a*  
*an-šû pa-zu ki-šû ʾur-zu, etc. =*

Incantation. Poppy(?), bright plant, which grows up from the *apsû*;  
 In heaven thy blossom (*âru*), in earth thy root, etc.

Similar expressions are used of the tamarisk, cedar, cypress, and reed,  
 intended to overawe the demons by enhancing the magical powers of  
 each plant, following the principle of "bluff." The mythical proto-  
 type of these plants is the all-embracing world-tree, which has dis-  
 appeared from Babylonian mythology, leaving very few traces. The  
*kiškanû* has often been identified with the world-tree, but there is  
 no good reason to regard it as mythical, though, to judge from the

<sup>1</sup> *Martakal* (whence, during the Kossean period, *maštakal*, like *maštu*, 'daughter,' for *martu*, whence again *maltakal*, according to the phonetic law localized by Ylvisaker in Babylonia) may possibly be the poppy, since *irrû*, 'opium' (Haupt, *ZA*, XXX, 60-66), is a syn. of *marru*, 'bitter,' whence *martu* (for *marratu*), 'gall' = *χολή*, also used for 'opium' (*ibid.*, p. 64), and *martakal* may be one of the few compounds (*martu* + *akalu*) like *šamaš-šammu*, 'sesame,' lit. 'sun-plant' (Haupt). Sum. *innu*š may be connected with *innu*, 'straw' (*SGI*).

*giš-gán-abzu* of Gudea, Cyl. A, XXI, 22, and our incantation, it may have been in a special sense the plant of the *apsû*.<sup>1</sup> Thompson (*Devils*, I, lviii) has given strong reasons for identifying the *kiškanû* with *astragalus gummifer*, from which tragacanth is obtained, possessing valuable emollient and demulcent properties. It is still sold in the bazaars of Bagdad. The *astragalus* grows in the mountainous districts of the East, and is common in the Tûr 'Abdîn (see above). Thompson is guilty of an extraordinary slip in admitting that it might grow in the swamps near Eridu. Like another "paradise" plant, the *sidr*, 'lotus,' more accurately *zizyphus spina Christi* (cf. Baudissin, *ZDMG*, LXVI, 184 f.), the *astragalus* does not grow in swampy regions. It is just as erroneous to maintain that the *kiškanû* grew at Erech as it would be to place the *giš-tir-ga-šur* (*ḥašur*-forest) in the *mât Tâmtim*, or to localize the *kûr-geštin* (*Wienberg*) of Gudea, Cyl. A, XXVIII, 11, 24, etc., in the vicinity of Lagaš. As shown above, Eridu is here a synonym of *apsû*.

While the *kiškanû* is thus apparently a real plant of healing, there was a mythical plant in the *apsû*, through whose virtues the old might hope to be rejuvenated, the *šam nibitti* (*GE*, XI, 295), perhaps an abbreviated rendering of a Sumerian \**û-mu-sâ-dingir-e-ne-gè*, 'plant given a name (i.e., destiny) by the gods.'<sup>2</sup> In order to secure it, Gilgames dived down into the *apsû* with stones tied to his body to facilitate his descent; when he lost it, the thief was a serpent, itself living in a well which communicated with the *apsû*.<sup>3</sup>

The best foreign parallel to these Babylonian conceptions is the Avestan Gaokerena, which is described (*Yašt* 12, 17) as 'that tree of the eagle which stands in the midst of the lake Vourukasa (*apsû*), which stores up good remedies, powerful remedies, which is called *Vîspôbiš* (which heals all), upon which the seed of all plants is found.' The meaning of Gaokerena is obscure; the commentators explain it

<sup>1</sup> The etymology of (*giš*) *kîn* is unknown. Hommel's explanation as *Orakelbaum* (*GGAO*, pp. 276, 367, n. 4) is based upon a fortuitous coincidence in writing with *giš-gar* = *uṣurtu*, 'plan, outline' (cf. *VB*, I, 208, n. g). Nor can *giskimmu* (Clay, *Misc. Inscriptions*, p. 69, n. 2; read *gi-is-ki-im-ma-šu*) be brought in here, as this is merely an archaistic spelling of the common *iskimmu*, 'sign, portent' (from Sum. *izkim*, originally perhaps *gizkim*).

<sup>2</sup> The usual rendering "plant of promise, Kraut der Verheissung" is impossible; *nibît ilâni* means 'named by the gods.'

<sup>3</sup> The interpretation of this important episode has been made possible by Morgenstern's happy combinations (*ZA*, XXIX, 284-301) and by my reading (*GE*, XI, 306) *quluptu* (resp. *quliptu*), 'slough of a serpent' (see *KB*, VI, 2, 2, 12, and 4, 39), from *qalâpu*, 'peel,' discussed in an article sent to *ZA*. and received by Professor Bezold two years ago.

as the "white haoma," whatever that may mean. The presence of the eagle identifies the Gaokerena with the Indo-European world-tree; the final statement shows that it is the prototype of all plants, according to a well-known Iranian cosmogonic principle. The residuum smacks so strongly of Babylonian medicine that we may safely refer it to the cycle of conceptions illustrated by the *kiškanû* incantation.<sup>1</sup> The etymologist may compare *giš-kin* and *gaokrn*; for his comfort it may be added that Sum. *sem* (pronounced perhaps *sôm*) 'aromatic plant,' has recently been compared with *sôma-haoma*. The latter, however, has a perfectly good etymology from *su*, *sô*, 'press out, extract.'

As might be expected, later Mesopotamian syncretism makes much of the tree of life at the source. For the Mandaeans cf. Brandt (*op. cit.*, pp. 196 f.); the Mandaean ideas will be treated in another connection. Similarly, the little-known sect of the اوردجيين (Flügel, *Fihrist*, p. 341) believed that the Demiurge raised a mound (read النل?—cf. Baudissin, *ZDMG*, LXVI, 183), on which he planted a lotus, by which the Euphrates rose from the nether waters (واجرى في ذلك النل نهرا يستى الفرات العظيم ثم غرس على ذلك النل سدرة).

Among the Manichaeans the tree of healing seems to have held a most important place, to infer from a prayer preserved in the *Fihrist* (p. 333, ll. 17 f.), where Mânî himself is (metaphorically) identified with it: مستبخ انت ايها النير ماني هاديننا اصل الضياء وغصن = 'Praised art thou, O resplendant Mânî, our guide, root of splendor and branch of life, the mighty tree full of healing.'

We may appropriately conclude with a passage which furnishes a text for our investigation, representing the culmination of the syncretistic processes touched upon in this paper: καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι ποταμὸν ὕδατος ζωῆς λαμπρὸν ὡς κρύσταλλον, ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ξύλον ζωῆς . . . καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

<sup>1</sup> The Gaokerena is, like the *kiškanû*, a tree of healing rather than of life; contrast, Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 115. The tree of life may be primarily a Semitic conception; cf. the Eg. *ḥt 'nh* of the Pyramid Texts and the Assy. *šam bālâti*, to say nothing of the Hebrew עץ החיים.